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सम्पादकः—श्रीनरेन्द्रचन्द्र-वेदान्ततीर्थ-एम्-ए-

वागचि-भट्टाचार्य-सांख्यतीर्थ-मीमांसातीर्थ-तत्त्वरत्न-शास्त्री

शूलपाणिकृता

चतुरङ्गदीपिका

श्रीमनोमोहन घोष, एम्-ए,

काव्यतीर्थेन संस्कृता

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ŚŪLAPĀṆI'S

CATURAṄGA-DĪPIKĀ

A Manual of Four-handed Dice-Chess

Critically Edited for the First Time with Translation, Notes and Introduction

by

MANOMOHAN GHOSH, M. A.,

Kavyatirtha

of the University of Calcutta

Metropolitan Printing And Publishing House, Limited, Calcutta

1936

BY THE SAME EDITOR

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Critically edited with Introduction, Translation and Notes together with its two Commentaries (*to be published shortly by the University of Calcutta*).

Dedicated

To

SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE, Esqr.,

Vice-Chancellor,

University of Calcutta,

With the deepest regard and

the most sincere admiration.

FOREWORD

The present text is entitled the *Caturaṅgadīpikā*. The Sanskrit word 'caturaṅga' literally means 'having four members', 'quardripartite' and then came to mean 'a complete army consisting of elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry' [cf. हस्त्यश्वरथपादातं सेनाङ्गं स्याच्चतुष्टयम्—*Amarakoṣa*, e. g., चतुरङ्गं ह्यपि बलं सुमहत् प्रसहेमहि—*Rāmāyaṇam*] ; and finally अक्षक्रीडाविशेषः, 'four-handed dice-chess', as it is called, to distinguish it from the English word 'chess' meaning 'a game for two players with thirty-two pieces or chess-men on chess-board chequered with sixty-four squares'. Apart from differences, however, there is a philological affinity between the two words. The four-handed dice-chess is rightly called 'Caturaṅga' as it represents a game which is to be played by four persons, two on each side, symbolizing a war carried on between two kings with their two allies, having all the four members of their army : elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry. Thus, 'Caturaṅgadipikā' means a work which introduces Caturaṅga, that is to say, a book which lays down principles of the game of Caturaṅga or the four-handed dice-chess. Hence, the title of the book is very significant.

It may sound strange to many that this game is said to be a religious observance by a great scholar like Smārta Bhaṭṭācārya Raghunandana, who quotes couplets from the *Caturaṅgadīpikā*, compiled by his great predecessor Śūlapāṇi. Raghunandana, under the 'Kojāgara-kṛtya' gives a description of Caturaṅga in connection with the injunction [विधि] that those willing to attain fortune should remain sleepless by playing at dice, at the night of full moon in the lunar month of Āśvina, when the Goddess of Fortune is worshipped [cf. आश्विने पौर्णमास्यान्तु चरेज्जागरणं निशि । कौमुदी सा समाख्याता कार्या लोकविभूतये ॥ कौमुद्यां पूजयेल्लक्ष्मीमिन्द्रमैरावते स्थितम् । सुगन्धिर्निशि सद्वेशे अक्षैर्जागरणं चरेत् ॥ निशीथे वरदा लक्ष्मीः को जागर्त्तीति भाषिणी । तस्मै वित्तं प्रयच्छामि अक्षैः क्रीडां करोति यः ॥—*Liṅgapurāṇa* ; नारिकेलोदकं पीत्वा अक्षैर्जागरणं निशि । तस्मै वित्तं प्रयच्छामि को जागर्त्ति महीतले ॥—*Kṛtyakaumudī*]. This game to be played at this night of Āśvina seems to have some

connexion with the mythological story that Nikumbha the son of Kumbhakarṇa came home exactly at such a night with his army after fighting a great battle [cf. आश्वयुज्यां पौर्णमास्यां निकुम्भो वालुकार्णवात्। आयाति सेनया सार्धं कृत्वा युद्धं सुदारुणम्॥—*Brahmapurāṇa*]. Vide, in this connection, Raghunandana's *Tithitattva*.

The *Caturaṅgadīpikā* is a text on Indian Dice-Chess by Mahāmahopādhyāya Śūlapāṇi, who has to his credit, many other works on smṛti literature, such as *Śrāddhaviveka, Prāyaścitta-viveka* etc. These *Vivekas* are held in great esteem. Smārta Bhaṭṭācārya Raghunandana has cited authorities from them. Śūlapāṇi was undoubtedly a Bengali scholar; he has very often refuted, with the remark *maithilamataṃ heyam*, the views of Vācaspati Miśra the younger, (15th century A. C.), the author of *Dvaitanirṇaya* and other smṛti digests, popularly known as *Cintāmaṇis*, such as *Śrāddhacintāmaṇi*, *Śuddhicintāmaṇi* etc.

The present text has been edited and translated *for the first time*. It is hoped that the understanding of the work will be facilitated by this translation with notes. The editor could not do more than what he did, for want of adequate manuscript materials. Nevertheless, he has done his work well and the learned Introduction which he has added, will, it is hoped, be considered useful. An index of important words has also been appended at the end.

We have the pleasure to express our thanks to the authorities of the Visvabharati, for lending the manuscript to the editor.

We shall be failing in our duty if we do not express our heartiest thanks to Prof. Amareswar Thakur, M. A., Ph. D., Vedantasastri of the Calcutta University and formerly General Editor of the Series, who accepted this work for publication.

Finally, we may hope that the readers will excuse us for any imperfection they may notice, especially misprints that have crept in.

Calcutta,
November, 1936 } Narendrachandra Bhattacharya

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निवेदनम्

प्राचीन-भारतवासिनः खल्विहलौकिकसुख-पराङ्मुखा अध्यात्मतत्त्व-व्यसनिन इति भूयांसो जनवादाः प्रतीच्यानां प्राच्यानां च भारततत्त्वानुसन्धित्सूनां मण्डलीषु। यद्यप्येते यथोचितेन तर्कावष्टम्भेनावहीयन्ते नात्र स्थूलदर्शिनां पण्डितानां कश्चिद्दोषः। पश्यन्ति ते मन्त्रब्राह्मणात्मिका वेदाङ्गादिसहकृता विपुलकलेवरा बह्वीः वेदशाखाः, महाकायानि रामायण-महाभारत-पुराणोपपुराणानि, असंख्यान् स्मृतिशास्त्रीय-ग्रन्थान्, भाष्यवार्त्तिकटीकोपबृंहितानि षड्दर्शनानि च, न पुनरेतेषां शतांश-परिमितान्यपि लौकिकसुखसाधनानि शास्त्राणि। एतद्दर्शनेनैव विभ्रान्तमतयस्ते झटित्येव विमृशन्ति केवलं धर्मकर्मैक-बुद्धयो हि प्राचीनभारतवासिनो, न तेषाम् अर्थकामयोः मर्त्यजनोचिता स्पृहा वा प्रवृत्तिर्वेति। एतेषां पण्डितानां नानुभवगोचरो भवति यद् ऐहिकस्थितिम् अविगणयन् कोऽपि जनसमाजः कदाचिदपि सभ्यतायाम् अनन्यसाधारणं पदं न लभेत इति। सभ्यताशिखर-समारूढेषु प्राचीनभारतवासिषु नायं समयो व्यतिक्रम्यते। अजानन् खलु सभ्यतावृद्धि-कौशलम्, तेषां नेतारस्त्रिकाल-दर्शिनो महर्षयः। यथा—उक्तं च भगवता वात्स्यायनेन "शतायुर्वै पुरुषो विभज्य कालम् अन्योन्यानुबद्धं परस्पर-स्यानुपघातकं त्रिवर्गं सेवेत" इति। अन्यैरपि महर्षिभिरेतन्मतं गृह्यते आद्रियते च। अत एव प्राचीन-भारतवासिनाम् इहलौकिकसुखसेवनेषु प्रयत्ना यथैव पारलौकिकेषु स्वर्गादिष्वपि सुस्पष्टं प्रतिपद्यन्ते। तेषाम् ऐहिकसुखानुरागस्य प्रमाणान्तरम्, नृत्यगीत-वाद्यादि-चतुःषष्टि-कलानां भूयान् प्रयोगः। पुरुषस्य गुणप्रकर्षख्यापनावसरे बहुशः चतुःषष्टि-कलानैपुण्यं कविभिरुदाहृतम्। अक्षादि-क्रीडास्तु कलासु गण्यन्ते। काव्यो-पाख्यानादिषु अक्षक्रीडायाः प्रसङ्गः प्रायशो दृश्यते। परं न कश्चिद् अक्षक्रीडा-विषयकः सुप्राचीनग्रन्थः समुपलब्धः। यत् क्रीडानां बहुलोक-प्रचारात् तासां परिज्ञाने न ग्रन्थादेरपेक्षा तत् सुखबोध्यम् एव। तथापि क्रीडाविषयकं पुस्तकं नैकान्तं दुर्लभम्। आलोच्यमाना चतुरङ्गदीपिका च अस्य दृष्टान्तभूता। अस्यां चतुरङ्गक्रीडा आलोचिता।

अथ का नाम चतुरङ्ग-क्रीडा? दृश्यते हि बाणभट्ट-रुद्रट-कह्लणादीनां ग्रन्थेषु चतुरङ्ग-क्रीडाया उल्लेखः। परं न ज्ञायते कीदृशीयं क्रीडासीदिति। अमरकोषस्यान्य-तम-टीकाकारः क्षीरस्वामी तु 'अष्टापदं चतुरङ्गफलकम्' इति मन्यते। एतस्माद् ज्ञायते

यत् चतुरङ्गक्रीडा अष्टापद-संश्रया। रामायणे जैनबौद्धादीनां शास्त्रेषु हरिवंशे विष्णुपुराणे काव्यादिषु चेदम् अष्टापदं भूयश उपलभ्यते। अत एव प्रतीयते चतुरङ्गक्रीडा सुप्राचीना एव। ग्रन्थान्तरेषु चतुरङ्गः शारी सारी वेति अभिधीयते। विधिवशात् एतादृशी बहुजन-समादृता क्रीडा अर्वाचीनकाले लुप्तकल्पैव। लोके प्रचाराभावात् अस्य स्वरूप-परिज्ञाने न कश्चित् सुष्ठूपायः। एतादृशेऽवस्थावैगुण्ये सञ्जाते चतुरङ्गदीपिका-ग्रन्थस्य आविष्कृतिः प्रकाशनञ्च खलु विबुधजनमोदाय कल्पते। अवगम्यतेऽस्माद् ग्रन्थात् कीदृशी नाम चतुरङ्गक्रीडेति।

यल्लोके 'शतरञ्जं' नाम क्रीडा चतुरङ्गसमुद्भूता चतुरङ्गसंज्ञया आख्यायते तद् अज्ञानत एव। अत्रैवोभयोः साम्यं यदुभे एव चतुःषष्टिकोष्ठे फलके क्रीडन्ति। परं चतुरङ्गे क्रीडकसंख्या चत्वारः शतरञ्जे तु द्वावेव। चतुरङ्गे राज्ञश्चत्वारः शतरञ्जे द्वौ राजानौ। चतुरङ्गे राज्ञाम् एकैकस्य बलानि हस्ती, अश्वः, रथम् (नौका वा), पत्ति-चतुष्टयं च, शतरञ्जे तु अधिको मन्त्री। यद्यपि उभयोः क्रीडयोः हस्त्यादयो वर्तन्ते न तेषां गतय उभयत्र समाः। क्रीडयोरयमपि अधिको भेदो यत् चतुरङ्गे अक्षद्वयस्य पातनाद् बलानि चार्यन्ते, शतरञ्जे तु नास्ति अक्षव्यवहारः।

चतुरङ्गक्रीडा न केवलं प्रमोदकारणम्, परन्तु अर्थकारणम् अप्यासीत्। द्यूतभूतायाम् अस्यां क्रीडायां पणादानव्यवहारोऽभवत्। विजयी क्रीडकः प्रतिपक्षात् पणं गृह्णाति। यद् रघुनन्दनकृते तिथितत्त्वे कोजागर-पूर्णिमायाम् अक्षक्रीडया रात्रि-जागरणस्य विधानम्, तच्चतुरङ्गक्रीडावलम्बनेनैव। रघुनन्दनेन तत्र चतुरङ्गदीपिकातः किञ्चिदधिकाः चतुस्त्रिंशत् श्लोका गृहीताः। एते प्रथितयशसा राधाकान्त-देवेन सङ्कलिते शब्दकल्पद्रुममहाग्रन्थेऽपि समुद्धृताः। परं समग्र-ग्रन्थाद् वियुक्तान् एतान् न केऽपि सम्यग् बोद्धुं शक्नुवन्ति। चतुरङ्गदीपिकातस्तु क्रीडायाः परिचयः सुखेनैव लभ्यते। अत एव अस्य प्रचारे उद्यमः कृतः। अत्र च प्रत्यूहपरम्पराः सन्ति। ग्रन्थस्य एका एव किञ्चिदधिकसार्धशतवर्षप्राचीना हस्तलिखिता पुस्तिका समासादिता। सु-पाठ्याक्षरावलि-समन्वितापि सा भूयशः पाठाशुद्धि-संकुला। अतोऽस्याः संशोधनम् आयाससाध्यम् आसीत्। शास्त्रस्य विरलप्रचारोऽपि संशोधन-क्लेशं समधिकतरमकरोत्। तथापि यथाबुद्धि ग्रन्थस्य सम्पादने वयं बह्वायासं कृतवन्तः। न जानीमः कोऽस्य साहसस्य फलोदय इति। तथापि यदि परगुणैकदृष्टयो महानुभवा विद्वांसः विषयगौरव-मुररीकृत्य अस्मत्स्खलनादिकम् उपेक्षेरन्, तदात्मानं कृतकृत्यं मन्यामहे इति शम्।

श्रीमनोमोहन-घोषस्य

PREFACE

The game of chess and the didactic fable have been the two most interesting gifts that Hindus gave to world culture. Considering their popularity and wide currency among people of different countries they can well vie with other gifts of India, such as the decimal notation and the so-called Arabic numerals. This gives a peculiar importance to the history of chess and its forerunner Caturaṅga, which seems to have been current nearly 2500 years before our time. Though in the beginning there was some uncertainty about the place of origin of chess, scholars are at present agreed about India being its home. Besides this they are also agreed about the fact that the game was invented at a time not later than 600 A. C. To carry the history of chess appreciably earlier than this was, however, not considered possible in the absence of suitable data. Occasional attempts, such as was made by Captain Cox and D. Forbes, were, however, not much appreciated. The discovery of the Caturaṅgadīpikā, a Skt. text of the 15th century, has, however, given us an opportunity of tracing the origin of chess in an older game called Caturaṅga, which seems to be of vast antiquity.

This Caturaṅga unlike chess was played by four persons with four sets of games-men, consisting of a king, an elephant, a horse, a boat (=chariot) and four pawns, and movements of these pieces were regulated by the throw of two cubic dice. From available references in literary works (Skt. Pali and Pkt.) it appears that the board on which the game was played was called the *aṣṭāpada* (a board with 8 × 8 squares). Following this clue we may trace the existence of this game up to 600 B. C. But it must be admitted that evidences on which we had to depend are not always equally compelling. This, however, is only to be expected from their fragmentary nature. But in spite of this drawback it may be expected that one having a close acquaintance with the growth and evolution of Indian culture through ages will not consider the suggested antiquity of Caturaṅga to be impossible.

Though no one will nowadays seriously consider the view of the early school of orientalists who thought that the East was absolutely changeless, it will not be wrong to say that certain elements of Indian culture have lived much longer than others. A very patent example of this will be the Vedic aspects of our marriage rites. The very same *mantras* and ceremonials that were used in uniting a bride and bridegroom of the late Vedic times are present in the orthodox Hindu marriage even after a lapse of nearly over 2500 years. This being the case it may probably be accepted tentatively that the game of Caturaṅga had already existed one thousand years prior to the time when chess developed from this about 500 A. C. Due to what reasons this development occurred, has been discussed in the Introduction to this volume. This new way of looking to the history of chess has been made possible only after the discovery of the Caturaṅgadīpikā, a Skt. work compiled by Śūlapāṇi (1500 A. C.) of Bengal. This unique work in Ms. is in the possession of the Visvabharati, Santiniketan. We offer our most grateful thanks to the authorities of this Institution for allowing us to utilize the same for the present edition.

In the preparation of this volume I have received help from various writers who have been mentioned in proper places. But among them all, to Mr. H. J. R. Murray, whose magnificent 'History of Chess' (Oxford, 1913) has given me the most valuable help, I should record here my most sincere thanks. To Mr. Sacchidananda Bhattacharya the promoter of the Calcutta Skt. Series also my thanks are due. His very generous expenditure of money for the advancement of Sanskritic studies has made the present work see the light of day. Last but not the least it is my pleasant duty to mention here with thanks the kind co-operation of Mr. Narendra Chandra Bhattacharya the learned General Editor of this Series, in publishing this volume. He has not only read one proof of the entire work but has also given suggestions some of which led to its improvement.

University of Calcutta,
October, 1936

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

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DIAGRAMS

Notes: K = King, E = Elephant, H = Horse, B = Boat, P = Pawn and M = Mantrin (Queen). Red, Black, Green and Yellow indicate colours of different sets of chessmen.

Black

Yellow

B	P			K	E	H	B
H	P			P	P	P	P
E	P						
K	P						
						P	K
						P	E
P	P	P	P			P	H
B	H	E	K			P	B

Red

Green

Diagram 1

The game-board for Caturaṅga.

Black

B	H	E	K	M	E	H	B
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
B	H	E	M	K	E	H	B

Red

Diagram 2

The game-board for Chess

From the marked position any piece can move to any of the squares where an arrow-head stops. Such a movement is possible from any other position as well, if a square is available.

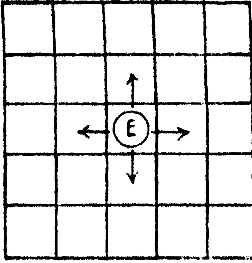


Diagram 3

The movement of E. in CD.

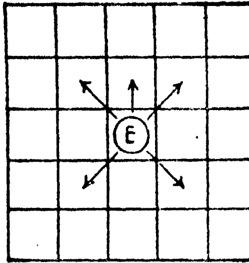


Diagram 4

The movement of E. in Al-Beruni.

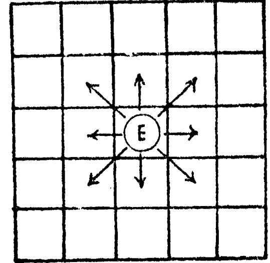


Diagram 5

The movement of E. in Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṅkāra and CT.

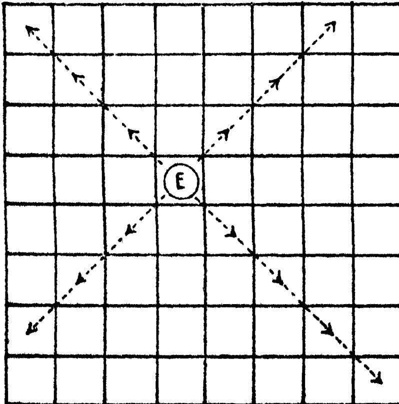


Diagram 6

The movement of E. in Chess.

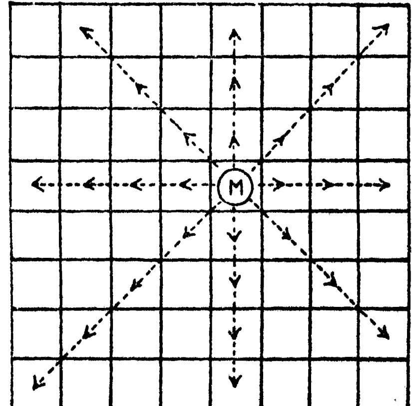


Diagram 7

The movement of *Mantrin* (Queen) in Chess.

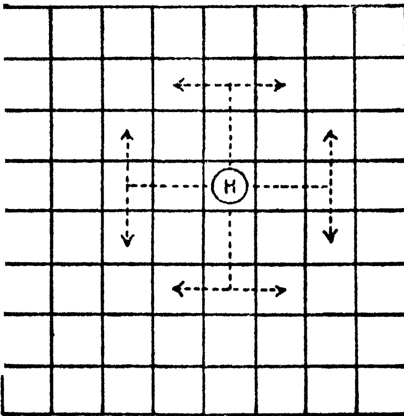


Diagram 8

The movement of Horse in Caturaṅga and Chess.

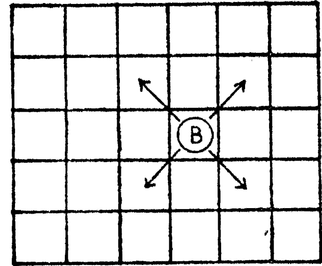


Diagram 9

The movement of Boat in Caturaṅga.

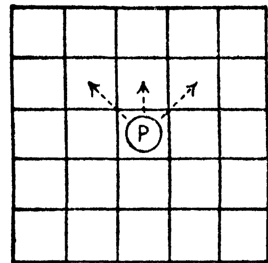


Diagram 11

The movement of Pawn in Caturaṅga and Chess.

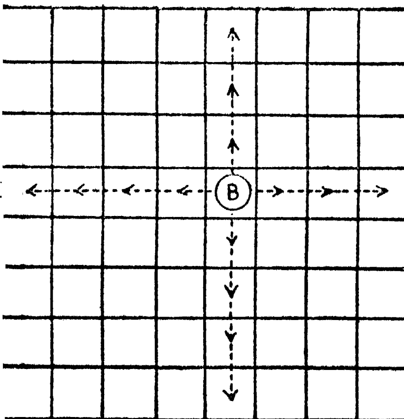


Diagram 10

The movement of Boat in (Bengali) Chess.

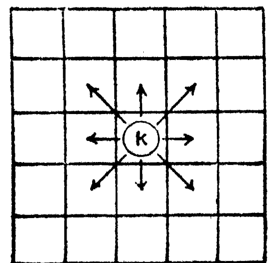


Diagram 12

The movement of King in Caturaṅga and Chess.

Yellow							Black
B	H	E	K	K	E	H	B
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
B	H	E	K	K	E	H	B
Green							Red

Diagram 13

A stage in the evolution of Caturaṅga.

इ	ती	क्षि	ता	सु	रै	श्च	क्रे
या	य	मा	म	म	मा	य	या
म	हि	षं	पा	तु	वो	गौ	री
सा	य	ता	सि	सि	ता	य	सा

Diagram 14

Rathapadapāṭha (chariot-movement) in Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṅkāra (v. 14). Syllables of the following couplet have given rise to the above :—

इतीक्षिता सुरैश्चक्रे यायमाममयया ।

महिषं पातु वो गौरी सायतासिसितायसा ॥

CORRECTIONS

P vi last line *read* been *for* beed.

P xix line 6 *read* religious ordinances

line 12 ,, ,, ,,

P २ line 2 (from the bottom) *read* 5. ms. अष्टकोष्ठान्तु.

P ६ line 9 *read* नृप रचयम्.

P ९ line 10 *read* [*3a* प्राप्नोति च] *for* 3a प्राप्नोति च.

P १२ line 5 *read* प्रोत्थिते *for* उठिते.

P १४ line 7 (from the bottom), *read* प्रवेशेऽन्यो[न्य]हननं [च]रस्तौति.

P १५ lines 8-9 *omit* the couplet No. ६७, and *change* after this, Nos. ६८, ६९, ७० and ७१ to ६७, ६७क, ६८ and ६९ respectively.

P २१ line 11 *read* इति बोद्धव्यम् ।

P २४ line 4 (from the bottom) *read* इति महामहोपाध्याय०.

P 6 line 18 *read* And *for* But.

line 8 (from the bottom) *read* 12 *before* The value.

P 12 line 3 *read* capture, then capture *for* capture, in a square capture.

line 4 (from the bottom) *read* capture *for* kill.

P 19 line 1 (at the bottom) *read* released *for* captured.

line 3 (from the bottom) *read* obstructed *for* captured.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. C.	=	After Christ.
B. C.	=	Before Christ.
C.	=	Caturaṅga or the Four-handed Dice Chess.
CD.	=	The Caturaṅga-dīpikā.
CT.	=	The Caturaṅga-taraṅgiṇī.
Hv.	=	Harivaṃśa.
Mbh.	=	Mahābhārata.
Murray	=	History of Chess by H. J. R. Murray.
Ś.	=	The article on *Caturaṅga* in the Śabda-kalpa-druma.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

I

The Present Edition

1. A complete or partial disappearance of a work for ever or for some time is no rare phenomenon in the history of Sanskrit literature. Hence, it is no wonder that a number of books, which was once written on the game of Caturaṅga or the four-handed dice-chess is till now scarcely known to students of India's past. But it would be inaccurate to assume that no writing on the subject was within their knowledge; for as early as 1790 Sir William Jones in his article 'On the Indian Game of Chess' (Asiatic Researches, vol. ii, London, 1790., pp. 159-165) quoted in translation a passage consisting of nearly thirty-five couplets from a Sanskrit work named the Tithitattva[1] by Raghunandana. The original of the passage quoted by Sir William was printed later on in the *editio princeps* of the Tithitattva published in Serampore (1834). And this passage was also included in the well known Sanskrit encyclopaedia named the Śabdakalpadruma (1821) under the word 'Caturaṅga.' A. Weber made a German translation of this in his article 'Einige Daten über das Schachspiel nach indischen Quellen' in 1872.

2. These editions and translations of the Caturaṅga (C.) passage did a very useful service in directing the attention of the investigators of the history of chess to the early Indian literary works for scrutinizing all available references in them of games which appeared to be similar to or cognate with C. As a result of this, the theory, was advanced that the different kinds of game of two-handed chess played all over the modern world owed their origin to the ancient Indian four-handed dice-chess (Capt. Cox, 'On

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1. Murray wrongly considers the Tithyāditattva or Tithitattva to be "written in the Bengali dialect of Sanskrit" (see pp. 48-49).

the Burmha Game of Chess, compared with the Indian, Chinese and Persian Game of the same denomination', Asiatic Researches, vol, vii, 1803, pp. 486-511; D. Forbes, 'Some Observations on the Origin of Chess', London, 1860). But H. J. R. Murray the latest English historian of chess rejects this theory (p. 69). Though his arguments against accepting what he calls the Cox-Forbes theory are not very sound, it must be admitted that the theory, even if it was a very plausible one, was based on rather inadequate materials. About the date and source of the passage on which such an important theory was based, scholars had then no clear and precise knowledge. And the passage fragmentary in its nature was considerably insufficient to give any workable idea of the game of Caturaṅga. The discovery of the Caturaṅgadīpikā, it is hoped, will remove such a difficulty. A more or less correct idea about the origin of the modern game of chess may now be possible.

3. This unique work came to light in 1924 from a village near Santiniketan, Bengal and was procured for the library of the Visvabharatī. An examination of this clearly written ms. (in Bengali script and no. 970) which was prepared in Śaka 1701 revealed that the Caturaṅga passage mentioned above occurred towards its beginning. Hence the view which Weber for want of proper materials was obliged to take about the passage, *viz.*, it was an integral part of Raghunandana's own work, proved to be wrong[1]. For in the colophon of the Caturaṅgadīpikā (CD.) it has been ascribed to Śūlapāṇi, a Bengali writer on Smṛti of the 15th century. Thus, Raghunandana could very easily be relieved of the supposed authorship of the Caturaṅga passage discussed by Sir William Jones and others.

4. At the time of discovery of the Caturaṅga ms., the present writer was in the Visvabharati, and coming to know of its importance he thought of studying this valuable work and of preparing, if materials proved to be sufficient, a critical edition of the same.

1. See the Smṛtitattva, pt. i, ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1895, pp. 137-138.

But various circumstances checked the progress of this work. Though undertaken as early as 1925 it did not advance much till 1933.

At first it appeared that the CD. was the only extant work on the four-handed dice-chess. But on further investigation it was found that in the Mss. library of the Nepal Government there was a work named the C a t u r a ṅ g a t a r a ṅ g i ṇ ī which dealt with the same subject. But it was, however, not before 1932 that an attempt to obtain a copy of the same was successful. (I take this opportunity of offering cordial thanks to my Dutch friend Dr. A r n o l d A. B a k e Ph. D., who kindly procured this copy during his stay in Nepal). This copy added to the already existing mistakes of this work preserved in a very poor ms. in Maithili script (see p. 1). But even this imperfect ms. was of considerable help in explaining some difficult passages of the CD., and in clarifying certain aspects of the game of C. But this help had to be taken very cautiously, for it was discovered from the CD., that at the time of its composition there were at least *two* different schools of the game: of Mithilā and of Bengal. Now the Caturaṅga-taraṅgiṇī (ÇT) being written in Maithili script was presumed to be belonging to the Mithilā school and on an examination of the work it was found that the game, described in it, though fundamentally similar to that in CD., varied in minor points. Hence, the editor had to proceed with the comparison of the two works very cautiously. The inherent difficulty of this text dealing with a game, which has long been obsolete, has further been a factor causing delay in its study.

Even after a rather unusual delay the task may be said to have been brought to completion. But in spite of the editor's best efforts, it cannot be said that the meaning of the text has been made clear in all points. Deplorable though this insufficiency of knowledge is, it may be hoped that the information that could be gleaned from the text will give us a good general view of the game of Caturaṅga, which can be utilized for tracing the history of the origin and development of the game.

II

The Game of Caturanga

5. It has been said above that from the text only a very general idea of the game can be had. Hence, the description of the game attempted below will set forth only its essential features.

i. The Caturaṅga is to be played in a square game-board divided into sixty-four squares (see the Diagram 1). The game which is to be played by four persons, two on each side, symbolizes a war carried on between two kings (*vijigīṣu* and his *ari*) with their two allies (*mitra* and *ari-mitra*) who constitute a sort of very primitive type of *maṇḍala* (sphere of diplomacy).

ii. Each of the four persons who are to play this game will have at their disposal the following pieces : a king, an elephant, a horse, a boat and four pawns (*patti*). The four groups of chess-men (*balas*) will be of the following colours : red, green, yellow and black. The owner of the red pieces will occupy the eastern side of the game-board, and other groups are to occupy respectively southern, western and northern sides(8-9)[1].

iii. The pieces at the disposal of each player will be placed at the beginning of the game in the following manner : boat at the corner, next the horse and after it the elephant with the king by its side. The four pawns are to be placed in squares in front of these pieces (see the Diagram 1).

iv. At the game, players are to cast, one after another, two cubic dice, each of which is marked on its sides with numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. According to CD., it seems that numbers 1 and 6 carried no value or were treated as zero (see Notes on 11 and 12). The value of the throw is to regulate the movement of the pieces. The rule on this point is as follows :

The king and the pawn moves by a throw of *five*, the elephant by that of *four* and the horse and the boat move respectively by *three* and *two*.

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1. These figures and similar ones below refer to sections of the CD.

v. The pieces have the following manner of moving :

a. The elephant can move at will to the next square in four cardinal directions (see the Diagram 3).

b. The horse can move sideways to the next square after crossing the three squares (see the Diagram 8).

c. The boat can move aslant to the second square from its own place (see the Diagram 9).

d. The pawn can move to the square in its front but to capture a piece it can only move to a square to the right or the left of its front square (see the Diagram 11).

e. The king can move to the next square in all directions (see the Diagram 12).

vi. As two dice are to be cast every time, the throw available will show two numbers, which are to be utilized in the following manner :

a. When there is room for utilizing two throws i. e., pieces available for move have positions to move to, then the two are to be moved (25-26).

b. When only one position is available, then the throw of higher number (25-26) is to be utilized.

c. When in a throw the same number is repeated, then the piece available for move may have two moves (see Al-Beruni, p. 184).

d. Attacks are of two kinds : one leading to capture of the enemy (lit., killing) and the other obstructing his movement (*bindhana=bandhana*).

vii. Different kinds of victories and defeats are as follows :

a. S i ṃ h ā s a n a. When one's king is able to occupy the position of another king, his ally or enemy or enemy's ally, the Siṃhāsana takes place (42-44).

b. C a t ū r ā j i. When one's king has been able to capture the three other kings (two enemies and one ally), the Catūrāji occurs (46-50).

c. N ṛ p ā k ṛ ṣ ṭ a. It is the name for forcible release of one's king obstructed by the enemy when one has already captured three other kings (52-54).

d. B ṛ h a n n a u k ā. When one's own boat has captured the three other boats then the position is called the Bṛhannaukā(69).

e. N a u k ā k ṛ ṣ ṭ a. It is the forcible release of one's own boat obstructed by an enemy when one has already captured three other boats (71).

f. Ṣ a ṭ p a d a (pawn-promotion). When a pawn succeeds in reaching any of the squares at the end of the board except that occupied by a king or that at the corner then the pawn is transformed to the piece the position of which it has reached (59).

g. K ā k a k ā ṣ ṭ h a. When one player has lost all pieces then his position is called the Kākakāṣṭha (67).

viii. For every piece captured one is to pay an amount of stake to the adversary. The rate of this stake seems to have beed settled according to custom.

III

The Caturanga in Indian Literature

6. Terms and expressions connected with the C. (four-handed dice-chess) seem to occur occasionally in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali works from 17th century A. C. to 6th century B. C. But these very scanty references are not in all cases very safe grounds for assuming that in particular works the game of C. was meant. Hence, before taking the entire history of the game in consideration we shall discuss below severally those terms and expressions or passages containing them occurring in different literary works of the past.

7. In the commentary to the Ā r y ā s a p t a ś a t i, written by A n a n t a P a ṇ ḍ i t a (1700 A. C.) occurs the following :

······'पातिताक्षेण' कृतकटाक्षेण । पक्षेऽक्षः पाशः ।······['शारीव'] चतुरङ्गगुटिकेव 'मृत्वा मृत्वापि जीवति' ।······पक्षे मरणं क्रीडाक्षमत्वम् । जीवनं तत्-क्षमत्वम् (on the āryā 624).

From this passage it can be assumed that Ananta knew a game called C. in which dice (*akṣa*) was used. The 'death' (*maraṇa*) referred to here meant possibly the capture of a piece and the coming back to life (*jīvana*), the pawn-promotion (see §5 vii *f*).

8. Probably between 1500 A. C. and 1100 A. C. there came into existence the four different recensions of the Thirty-two Stories of the Vikrama Cycle known variously as the V i k r a m a c a r i t a or V i k r a m (ā r k a) ā d i t y a - c a r i t a or S i ṃ h ā - s a n a - d v ā t r i ṃ ś i k ā or S i ṃ h ā s a n a - k a t h ā (Franklin Edgerton, Vikrama's Adventures, pt. i, HOS. 26, p. xlix). In its story no. 27 is available some reference to C.

i. In the *Southern Recension* of this work occurs the following :—

राज्ञा भणितम्—को भवान् ? तेनोक्तम्—अहं द्यूतकारः । राज्ञोक्तम्—त्वं द्यूतक्रीडां जानासि किम् ? तेनोक्तम्—द्यूतविषयेऽहमेव विचक्षणः । अन्यच्च सारीक्रीडां जानामि । (5. 1—3)

[सारी in this passage has variants like खारी Q, शालि M, वारि T and द्वार Nd. Besides, this N, according to Edgerton, gives 'different and longer readings' (It is a pity that he withholds them). After जानामि VJ insert बुद्धिबलं जानामि and QTMy वराटमुष्टिं (T adds च) जानामि. Variants given here and below have been taken from the excellent critical edition of the work by Edgerton (HOS. vol. 27)].

Dyūta-krīḍā in the above passage has been translated by Prof. Edgerton as 'the game of dice' and *sārīkrīḍā* as 'a game related to chess' (*op. cit.* p. 213). The second term, as it appears from the testimony of Ananta cited above (§7), has been accurately translated while *dyūtakrīḍā* does not seem to mean 'the game of dice' only. It means probably the 'gambling (*dyūta*) based on a play (*krīḍā*)'. The stranger in this passage introduces himself as a gambler (*dyūtakāra*) but the king then enquires whether he knows 'gambling connected with play'. Upon this the stranger says that he is a master gambler *i. e.*, knows all kinds of gambling and especially he knows the *sārīkrīḍā* which seems to be nothing other than our C.

ii. In the *Metrical Recension* of the Vikramārka-carita the above mentioned passage occurs in the following form :

अहं दूरोदरे चात्र दीव्याम्यक्षैरहर्निशम् ।
गतागतं च जानामि ग्लहादानादिपण्डितः ॥
हस्त्यश्वमन्त्रिशकटव्यूहदुर्भेदवर्मणः ।
जाने बुद्धिबलं चापि चतुरङ्गस्य देवने ॥
निपुणोऽहं धनादाने बलिनोऽपि पराजिताः ।

(31—35)

[दुरोदरा यत्र Edg. (=Edgerton), दरोदरे चात्र Dn. ग्रहानां DvGr. ग्लतादानादिपण्डितः Dn. *ग्लहानां दिव्यपण्डितः Edg. पादात for शकट DvGr.].

The variant *pādāta* recorded for *śakaṭa* as well as the construction of the entire sentence seems to give ground for presumption that the expression *hastyaśva-m a n t r i -śakaṭa-vyūha* stood in the *codex archetypus* of the Metrical recension as *hastyaśva-r a t h a -pādāta-vyūha.* The term *Buddhibala* (meaning the

modern chess in Marathi) occurring in this sentence has probably confused the writer of the prototype of the mss. DvGr., who changed *ratha* to *mantrī* just to bring the description in harmony with the name *Buddhibala.* But this emendation did not quite solve the difficulty, for *ratha* or *śakaṭa* still remained unmentioned. Hence, later interpolators put in *śakaṭa* in the place of *pādāta.* But this too unwittingly created a new difficulty, for *pādāta* (pawn) occupying a place in the game was wanting.

With the reading proposed above, the passage will be translated as follows :

In gambling I shall always (*lit.*, day and night) play with dice. I know (to manipulate) the movements (of pieces) and am skilled in winning (*ādāna*) of stakes. I know the (special game of) *Buddhibala* included in the game of Caturaṅga class, which possesses unassailable armours such as elephants, horses, chariots and pawns. I am skilled in winning money and even the powerful are vanquished by me (cf. Edgerton's translation *op. cit.* p. 215).

Prof. Edgerton's interpretation of *gatāgatam* (*op. cit.* p. 215) as 'a game of backward and forward' seems to be unnecessary. It may well mean the movement in general of the pieces used in C., or the *Buddhibala. Glaha*, translated in this context as 'dice', does also not seem to be correct. The expression *glahādānādi-paṇḍita* should be translated as 'skilled in winning or earning money as stakes and in similar matters'. The term *dhanādāna* 'winning of wealth' may not be considered a kind of game, for it seems merely to repeat the idea contained in *glahādānādi.* Hence, the whole passage may be taken to relate to the ancient game of C., as well as the *Buddhibala* or the modern game of chess.

iii. In the *Brief Recension* of the work the passages discussed above occur in the following form :

राज्ञोक्तम्—कस्त्वम् ? तेनोक्तम्—द्यूतकारोऽहम् , राजन् सारिफलं सोत्कण्ठं च चतुरङ्गं च कपर्दकं चोच्चलितमुष्टिकं च गतागतं च दशचतुष्कं च चीरणीयं धूलिकां च खेलितुं जानामि । (9—12)

C.—II.

This passage, if it is not corrupt, seems to be very difficult. Prof. Edgerton's translation does not seem to be satisfactory. For games like *sotkaṇṭha, uccalitamuṣṭi, gatāgata, cīraṇīya* etc., are scarcely met with anywhere. *Sotkaṇṭha*, if it is not a corruption of the real name of a game now extinct, may be taken as an adjective to *sāriphala* or *caturaṅga*, and *uccalitamuṣṭi* and *gatāgata* also may be taken as adjectives to *kapardaka* ; similarly *cīraṇīya* too may be an adjective to *daśacatuṣka.* But whatever might be the correct reading of the passage or its interpretation we meet with terms like *dyūta, sāriphala* and *caturaṅga* occurring in it and they seem to be connected with our C.

iv. The *Jainistic Recension* of the passages discussed above does not, however, mention *sāriphala, caturaṅga* or *akṣa* and merely refers to *dyūta* or (*dyūta-*)*krīḍā,* which may or may not relate to C.

9. Amaracandra's Bālabhārata (1300 A. C.) mentions *aṣṭāpada* (ii. 5. 13). According to him two dice (black and red) are used in this game (Lüders, 'Das Würfelspiel in alten Indien', p. 67). The game in connexion with this term might be C.

10. The poet Govardhanācārya (1200 A. C.) in his Āryāsaptaśati writes :

सा विरहदहनदूना मृत्वा मृत्वापि जीवति वराकी ।
शारीव कितव भवतानुकूलिता पातिताक्षेण ॥ 623 ॥

The word *śārī* occurring in this passage as we have noticed above (§7) has been explained by Ananta Paṇḍita as *caturaṅga-guṭikā.* Now *akṣa* cited in connexion with *caturaṅga* points probably to the game of C. Mr. Murray, however, thinks otherwise (see p. 62).

11. In the Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa (c. 1200 A. C.) occurs a clear reference to C. The relevant passage is as follows :

नीतराजद्वयो व्यग्रः शेषस्यैकस्य विग्रहे ।
चतुरङ्ग इव क्रीडन् विवशोऽभूद् विशांपतिः ॥

[1]बद्धलक्ष्यः प्रदानार्थं ततश्च छद्मना परान् ।
भञ्जतो वाजिपत्त्यादि नाप्यासीन्नाप्यजीगणत् ॥

(viii. 2969-2970).

In his note to the translation of this passage Sir Aurel Stein writes : The similes……are taken from Indian chess (*Caturaṅga*) played by four persons at a time.

12. In the comments to the P i ṅ g a l a c c h a n d a ḥ - s ū t r a named M ṛ t a s a ñ j ī v a n ī by H a l ā y u d h a (c. 1200 A. C.)[2] the word *Caturaṅga* and a game-board with 64 squares have been mentioned (on I. 3). This was considered to be a reference to chess (JRAS. 1896, p. 122).

13. K ṣ ī r a s v ā m i n (1100 A. C.) explains *śāriphala* (*sāriphala*) as शारयः फलन्त्यत्र शारिफलं खेलनाधारः चतुरङ्गफलकादि. (The commentary named the A m a r a k o ṣ o d g h ā ṭ a n a, ed. K. G. Oka, p. 165).

14. In the A b h i l a ṣ i t ā r t h a c i n t ā m a ṇ i or M ā n a s o l l ā s a written under the patronage of the Cālūkya king Someśvara (1100 A. C.) is mentioned a game called *Caturaṅgākṣa.* This may be the same as our C. (see The Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi, I. 1. 31, also Murray, p. 36).

15. In the Sinhalese commentary (c. 1000 A. C.) to the V i n a y a p i ṭ a k a *aṣṭāpada*[3] has been explained as a

1. This couplet is evidently corrupt. Stein along with other editors of the Rājataraṅgiṇī has overlooked this fact. His translation of the passage fails to make it completely intelligible.

2. Weber places Halāyudha in the 10th century (Indische Studien, viii, p. 193), but he was the minister of the king Lakṣmaṇa Sena (1200 A.C.) of Bengal (JASB. [1915] xi, *N. S.* p. 333).

3. According to Prof. Lüders *aṣṭāpada* (8 × 8 squares) meant a game in which the use of dice was combined with a game upon a board (*op. cit.* p. 65). Macdonell considers it to be "highly improbable that *aṣṭāpada* was used for anything but some primitive form of chess, played with or without the aid of dice sometime before the beginning of our era" (JRAS. 1898, p. 122). Mr. Murray, however, seems to think differently (see pp. 34-35).

game played with dice and pieces such as kings and so on (Murray, p. 35).

16. In the Ṛṣabha pañcāśikā of Dhanapāla (1000 A. C.) occurs the following :

सारि व्वि बन्धवधमरणभाइणो जिण ण हुन्ति पईं दिट्ठे ।
अक्खेहिं वि हीरन्ता जीवा संसारफलयम्मि ॥

According to the commentator, the game alluded to in the above passage has been the game C. (H. Lüders, *op. cit.* p. 66). The words *bandha*, *vadha* and *maraṇa* probably justify the commentator. For the obstruction and capture of a piece in C., is called *bindhana* (=*bandhana*) and *hanana*, respectively.

17. In the Haravijaya, a poem by Rājānaka Ratnākara (c. 900 A. C.), we have the following couplet :

श्रियं दधानं चतुरस्रताश्रयामनेकपत्त्यश्वरथद्विपाकुलम् ।
विपक्षमाविष्कृतसन्धिविग्रहं तथाप्यनष्टापदमेव यो व्यधात् ॥

XII. 9.

On *aṣṭāpada* Ratnākara's commentator Alaka writes : सामर्थ्याच्चतुरङ्गफलकम् । तदष्टापदं नेति विरोधः, तस्य हि पङ्क्तौ पङ्क्तौ पदाष्टकोपेतत्वादष्टापदमिति संज्ञा (ed. Nirṇayasāgara).

Hence, from *aṣṭāpada*, in this passage, meaning a game-board for C. and the mention of *patti* (pawn), *aśva* (horse), *ratha* (chariot) and *dvipa* (elephant) and the omission of *mantrin* (minister), we may well assume that Ratnākara meant C., and not the modern chess[1].

18. Rudraṭa (900 A. C.) in his Kāvyālaṅkāra describes some acrostics (*citra-kāvyas*) which are a sort of metrical puzzles. They are to be read in accordance with the moves of particular pieces (*Caturaṅga-pīṭha-viracita-ratha-turagādi-pada-pāṭhaiḥ* v. 2). The moves of horse and elephant, as recorded by Rudraṭa (v. 15-16), tally with that laid down in manuals of

1. Prof. Jacobi discussed this passage for the first time (ZDMG. vol. 50. pp. 225 f.) and wrongly thought that *aṣṭāpada* in the passage meant modern chess and in this matter he was followed by Macdonell (JRAS. 1898, p. 124).

C., known to us (see Notes on 14)[1]. The movement of the chariot, that Rudraṭa gives, is not available from any such text on C. But it has some affinity to the movement of boat in our modern (Bengali) game of chess (for details see the Diagram 14).

19. In the Kuṭṭanīmata (v. 997) of Dāmodara Gupta (800 A. C.) occurs the term *pañcākṣadyūta* (ed. Tripāṭhi, Lahore, 1929). There is no means of knowing what kind of game was meant. It may or may not have any connexion with the C.

20. In the Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva (ed. Peterson, Bombay, 1886) there appear nine couplets ascribed to Śrī-Mayūra. Peterson believes him to be identical with the famous author of the Sūryaśataka (c. 700 A. C). Now, seven among these couplets (123-129) refer, according to Peterson, to chess with dice. One can never be sure of this fact. The data available from these couplets consist of terms like *tryakṣa, durodara* and *pāśaka.*

21. In his Harṣacarita the poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa (650 A. C.) uses terms like *aṣṭāpada* and *caturaṅga,* and the latter term is used in connexion with *aṣṭāpada,* which as we have seen above (§15), means the game of C. (*aṣṭāpadānāṃ caturaṅga-kalpanā,* ed. Kane, Pt. I. p. 35)[2]. In his Kādambarī, too, he uses the term *śāryakṣa* (*śāryakṣeṣu śūnyagṛhāḥ*). This may be a reference of C.

22. Bhartṛhari (c. 650 A. C.) refers to a game which may or may not have any affinity with our C., in the following stanza :

यत्रानेकः क्वचिदपि गृहे तत्र तिष्ठत्यथैको
यत्राप्येकस्तदनु बहवस्तत्र नैकोऽपि चान्ते (चास्ते ?) ।

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1. Rudraṭa's reference has also been discussed by Prof. Jacobi and here too he seems to be wrong in seeing modern chess (see *op. cit.*).

2. Macdonell seems to be wrong in taking Bāṇa's reference as relating to modern chess (JRAS. 1898, p. 125).

इत्थं चेमौ रजनिदिवसौ दो(लो)लयन् द्वाविवक्षौ
कालः काल्या (कल्यो) भुवनफलके क्रीडति प्राणिशारैः ॥

Vair. Ś. 42. (43)

In the game referred to here, there are two *akṣas* (dice) as in our C., and the different pieces such as elephant, horse etc., used in the latter, might well have been called *prāṇi-śāra*. But the statement, about many pieces staying in a house *i. e.,* square, seems to create a difficulty[1].

23. In the V ā s a v a d a t t ā of S u b a n d h u (c. 600 A. C.) occurs the following passage :

···पीतहरितैः कृष्णकेदारिकाकोष्ठीषु (-गोष्ठीषु) समुत्पतद्भिर्जातुषदुरोदरैरिव दर्दुरशिशुकैः नयद्यूतैरिव विक्रीड······घनकालः ।

(ed. L. Gray, p. 191).

Apparently Prof. G r a y ' s rendering of *durodara* with 'chessmen' does not seem to be satisfactory. But the term *nayadyūta* (*lit.*, game of polity) seems to point to C., which is a game involving diplomacy, for in it one pair of kings fights against another pair[2].

24. A m a r a s i ṃ h a (c. 600 A. C.) in his famous *koṣa* mentions *aṣṭāpada*, as synonymous with *sāriphala*, which as we have seen before (§13), has been explained by Kṣīrasvāmin as *caturaṅga-phalaka* (the game-board for C.).

25. In the S ū t r a k ṛ t ā ṅ g a (Sūyagaḍaṅga) of the Jains, assigned to 600 A. C., the word *aṭṭhāvaya* (=*aṣṭāpada*) occurs (I. 9). The translator of the relevant passage is not willing to see here any kind of chess (S. B. E. vol. 45, p. 303,

1. Macdonell gives reasons to prove that the game referred to by Bhartṛhari "cannot have been played on the *aṣṭāpada*", (*op. cit.* p. 122).

2. Mr. Murray, however, is satisfied that Subandhu's reference is to chess (p. 51). Prof. F. W. Thomas first called attention to this passage, and following a commentator of Subandhu he regarded *nayadyūta* as *caturaṅga* (ZDMG. Vol. 52, p. 271). He further attempted to show from this passage that the chess-board in Subandhu's time was chequered (ZDMG. vol. 53, p. 364).

footnote). But such an attitude seems to be inadequately supported by facts. A game-board for C. might well have been meant by *aṣṭāpada,* and from the game-board the game itself (C.) might have received this name.

26. According to the A b h i d h ā n a r ā j e n d r a, the J a m b u d v ī p a - p r a j ñ a p t i, the P r a ś n a v y ā k a r a ṇ a, the J ñ ā t ā d h a r m a k a t h ā and the N i ś ī t h a s ū t r a mention *aṣṭāpada.*

27. In the V i ṣ ṇ u p u r ā ṇ a (c. 600 A. C.) also, the word *aṣṭāpada* occurs in the following couplet :

ततो बलः समुत्थाय कोपसंरक्तलोचनः ।
जघानाष्टपदेनैव रुक्मिणं सुमहाबलः ॥

V. 30. 23. (ed. Vaṅgavāsī)

From this it is learnt that *aṣṭāpada* could at times be used as a weapon for striking one. Words like *dyūta, glaha* and *akṣa,* occurring in connection with this *aṣṭāpada* in the Viṣṇupurāṇa, makes it probable that the game of C. has been referred to.

28. In the K ā m a s ū t r a of V ā t s y ā y a n a (c. 400 A.C.) are mentioned terms like *dyūti* (III. 34), *dyūtaphalaka* (IV. 4), *Yakṣarātri* and *Kaumudījāgara* (IV. 12). The meaning *dyūta* and *dyūti* is not clear. These may or may not be connected with C., but the terms like *Yakṣarātri* and *Kaumudī-jāgara,* which mean the night of the full-moon in the month of Kārtika and Āśvina, respectively, probably point to the game of C., for, in the CT., in connexion with C., there occurs the following :

शङ्करश्च पुरा द्यूतं ससर्ज सुमनोहरम् ।
कार्तिके शुक्लपक्षे तु प्रथमेऽहनि भूपते ॥

(folio, 1. a)

This occurs also in the S k a n d a p u r ā ṇ a (ed. Vaṅgavāsī, IX. 103) and probably refers to *Yakṣarātri.* And in the CT., we have the following :

तथा चाश्विनमधिकृत्य—

निशार्धे वरदा लक्ष्मीः को जागर्तीतिभाषणी ।
जगद्भर्तृकेके तस्यां लोकचेष्टावलोकिनी ॥

(folio, 1. a)

Hence, it may be assumed that Vātsyāyana by his *Kaumudī-jāgara* refers to this activity of the goddess Lakṣmī in the night of the full-moon in the month of Āśvina. According to the Tithitattva this night is to be spent in playing the game of Caturaṅga. Hence, a description of the game occurs in this work.

29. In the Harivaṃśa, a work which may be as early as 200 A. C., occurs the following couplets containing terms like *aṣṭāpada* and *akṣa* :

एनं संपरिगृह्णीष्व पातयाक्षान् नराधिप ।
कृष्णाक्षान् लोहिताक्षांश्च देशेऽस्मिंस्त्वधिपांशुले ॥

II. 61. 37.

संकर्षणस्तदोत्थाय सौवर्णेनोरुणा बली ।
जघानाष्टापदेनैव प्रमथ्य यदुपुङ्गवः ॥

II. 61. 45-46.

स रामकरमुक्तेन निहतो द्यूतमण्डले ।
अष्टापदेन बलवान् राजा वज्रधरोपमः ॥

II. 61. 54.

We are not sure whether *aṣṭāpada* in the last couplet means a game-board for C. *Akṣa* in the plural number creates a difficulty, for in the CT., we learn of *two akṣas*. If it is possible that the game was also played with more dice than two, then the game referred to in the Harivaṃśa may mean C. The *akṣa* in plural also may signify the 'marks' (*lit.*, eyes) on the dice, which were as many as six. If this were the case the game described in Hv., can easily be taken as C.[1] (The second couplet, quoted above, has its parallel in the passage, quoted above from the Viṣṇupurāṇa).

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1. Mr. Murray, however, thinks that the game referred to is dice (see p. 37).

30. In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, a Mahāyāna Buddhist work of about 100 A. C., occurs the term *aṣṭāpada* (सुवर्णसूत्राष्टापदनिबद्धं pp. 146, 244, 337 ed. Kern). This work has no occasion to give any more information about the game which is connected with the game-board called *aṣṭāpada*.

31. In the Rāmāyaṇa (200-300 B. C.) also we come across the term *aṣṭāpada*[1] (चित्रामष्टापदाकारां वरनारीगणैर्युताम्, Bālakāṇḍa, v. 16). Govindarāja explains the *aṣṭāpada* by quoting Amara's 'अष्टापदं शारिफलं').

32. The term *aṣṭāpada* occurs in the Hinayāna Buddhist scriptures (500 B. C.) also. For example, in the Brahmajāla-sutta (i. 1. 14) and in the Vinayapiṭaka (ed. Oldenberg, vol. ii. p. 10 ; vol. iii. p. 180) we have this word. Rhys Davids denies that *aṣṭāpada* may mean chess though he quotes the view of the Sinhalese commentator that game of *aṣṭāpada* was played with dice and pieces such as kings and so on (Sacred Book of the Buddhists, vol. ii. p. 9). After having reviewed the meaning of *aṣṭāpada* occurring in various works, and knowing of the game C. we may well consider that the Sinhalese commentator (c. 1000 A. C.) was in possession of the right tradition (see §15).

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1. See p. xi. footnote 3.

IV

From the Chess to the Caturanga

83. As we have something like an exact knowledge about the relatively early history of the modern game of chess (hereinafter called chess), and the C. does not come to our notice except much later, an exact determination of the relation between the two games may be of some help for tracing the early history of latter. It has been mentioned before (§2) that Captain Cox and following him D. Forbes maintained that chess in its various forms owed its origin to the ancient Indian four-handed dice-chess (or C.) and this Cox-Forbes theory has been rejected by Mr. Murray. Whatever might be the value of his very cautious view it will have to be said that after the discovery of the CD. and CT. it becomes untenable. These two Skt. texts though they are later than 1400 A. C. conclusively demonstrate one fact *viz.*, the religious character of Caturaṅga, which has been taken notice of as early as 1851 (The Calcutta Review, 1851 ; Murray, p. 37). It is a ritual game prescribed to be played during a certain festive night. Now, it is quite well known to students of religious culture that objects and customs connected with religious rites and practices are older than corresponding ones not so connected. Hence this religious character of the game gives us a strong ground for presumption that, of the two games the C. and the chess, which have some elements in common the former is the older.

34. If this view is allowable we can utilize the fact for determining the relation between the C. and the chess. And it may well be inferred that the chess has developed from the C. or the four-handed dice-chess ; for we can never believe that the C. after being derived from the chess was given a place in religious ritual while the older game stood outside. Such a happening would have been very much contrary to the testimony of the history of religious culture. Thus the theory propounded by Cox and supported by Forbes

seems to be quite sound. The manner in which they supported their theory of development of the four-handed dice-chess into chess deserves the most careful consideration. They think that as a result of the action of certain rules, or from the difficulty of securing a full quota of players, the game gradually became a two-handed game. At a later time the civil and religious ordnances against the use of the dice led to the abandonment of the dice character of the game ; and finally, by a rearrangement of the pieces, the game of chess as known to Persians and Muslims came into existence (Murray, p. 49). Mr. Murray, however, considers all this as 'unnatural and incredible' and thinks that an undue weight is laid upon the religious and legal ordnances against the use of dice (p. 75). But these points will be taken up again (§41) as we shall trace the development of the C. It will suffice for the present to assume that the C. is the parent of chess played in slightly varied forms all over the world and as such it originated earlier than the period in which the chess appears for the first time in history.

35. The earliest reference to the chess occurs in the Kār-nāmak-i-Artakshātr-i-Pāpakān, a Pahlavi or Middle Persian romance which is based upon the career of Ardashir (Artaxerxes), the son of Pāpaka, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty who ruled over Persia between 226 and 241 A. C. Nöldke is in favour of ascribing this undated work to the reign of Khusraw II Parwiz (590-628 A. C.). But Prof. Brown in his 'Literary history of Persia' (p. 122) concludes that the Kārnāmak was probably composed about 600 A. C. (see Murray, p. 149). This reference to chess even if it be only as early as 600 A. C. would still imply a greater antiquity for the game. "For not only does it imply that the game was fairly generally known in Persia, but also that popular opinion had seized on chess as a characteristically national game in which it was fitting that the national hero should be skilled. Such opinions do not grow in a day, and a considerable period of time must be postulated for their growth in an age of slow and imperfect method of communication. Even in

mediaeval Europe it took chess more than a century to achieve a like result" (Murray, pp. 149-150). Hence it may be assumed that the game might well have been current in Persia as early as 550 A. C. Now according to the Chatrang-nāmak another Pahlavi work written between 650 and 850 A. C. chess was introduced in Persia from India (Murray, p. 150). This points to India as the home of chess. But in the Indian literature itself there occurs no clear and sure reference of chess before the 1400 A. C.[1] Though Prof. Jacobi and earlier writers on the subject believed otherwise, Subandhu, Bāṇa or Rudraṭa did not refer to chess. Their references as we have seen before (§§18, 21, 23) are to the game of C. This, however, does not invalidate the evidence of the Pahlavi works, and we are in possession of the fact that chess went out of India to Persia about 550 A. C. Now allowing some time for the popularity of the new game in its land of origin it will not be wrong to assume that the game itself might have been invented at least fifty years earlier *i. e.*, about 500 A. C.[2] Hence we may hit upon a more or less approximate date of the origin of chess. This may well be taken as the starting point in the investigation of the antiquity of Caturaṅga or the four-handed dice-chess from which developed the game of chess.

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1. The earliest reference to chess occurs in the *Metrical recension* of the Vikramārka-carita. The relevant passage has been discussed before (§8, ii). The game has been described in considerable details in the *Nīti-mayūkha* of *Nīlakaṇṭha* (1700 A. C.). This description has been discussed by Weber (See Monatberichte der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1873. pp. 711 f., also Murray, pp. 63. f.). Some are of opinion that in a *caryāpada* by Kṛṣṇa (Kānha), written in Old Bengali a reference to chess has been made. This, however, seems to be wrong and it appears that Kṛṣṇa referred to C. For a detailed discussion on this, see the Appendix.

2. Absence of any early reference to chess in Indian literature is probably due to its comparatively late origin. It naturally took a very long time for the new game to replace the old one (C.) or to sit by its side.

V

The Early History of Caturanga

36. From the above discussion (§35) it may be assumed that C. (the parent of chess) was current in India about 500 A. C. Surely this was the time when the game was old enough to give rise to a new variety of it. But how old was it then? This is the question which will occupy us in the following paragraphs.

From references to C. in various works of Indian literature we learn that *aṣṭāpada* in the Haravijaya (900 A. C.) positively meant a board on which C. was played. In Bāṇa's Harṣacarita (700 A. C.) the same meaning undoubtedly determined the sense of *aṣṭāpada,* for in it this word was used directly in connexion with C. (अष्टापदानां चतुरङ्गकल्पना). In this work the meaning of *aṣṭāpada* the game-board for C. developed into a game played on the board of the same name. In the Amarkoṣa (600 A. C.) the word *aṣṭāpada* given as a synonym for *śāriphala,* has been explained by the commentator Kṣirasvāmin (1100 A. C.) as *caturaṅga-phalaka* (game-board for C). We need not unnecessarily disbelieve the testimony of the commentator; in his time C. as a game was well known at least among North-Indian people, for in the Rājataraṅgini (1200 A. C.) a clear reference to the game occurs (see §11 before). And in Al-Beruni's work (1100 A. C.) the game has been described in considerable details. We are quoting below the same description :

"In playing chess they move the elephant straight on, not to the other sides, one square at a time, like the pawn, and to the four corners also one square at a time, like the queen (*firzān*). They say that these five squares (i. e., the one straightforward and the other at the corners) are the places occupied by the trunk and the four feet of the elephant.

They play chess—four persons at a time—with a pair of dice. Their arrangement of the figures on the chess board is the following :—

[See the Diagram 1]

As this kind of chess is not known among us, I shall here explain what I know of it.

The four persons playing together sit so as to form a square round a chess-board, and throw two dice alternately. Of the numbers of the dice the five and six are blank (i. e., do not count as such). In that case, if the dice show five or six, the player takes one instead of the five, and four instead of the six, because the figures of these two numerals are drawn in the following manner :—

6			5
4	3	2	1

so as to exhibit a certain likeness of form to 4 and 1, viz., in the Indian signs. The name *shāh* or *king* applies here to the *queen* (*firzān*).

Each number of the dice causes a move of one of the figures .

The 1 moves either the pawn or the king. Their moves are the same as in the common chess. The king may be taken, but it is not required to leave its place.

The 2 moves the tower (*rukh*). It moves to the third square in the direction of the diagonal, as the elephant moves in *our* chess.

The 3 moves the horse. Its move is generally known as the third square in the oblique direction.

The 4 moves the elephant. It moves in a straight line, as the tower does in our chess, unless it be prevented from moving on. If this is the case, as sometimes happens, one of the dice removes the obstacle and enables it to move on. Its smallest

move is one square, the greatest fifteen squares, because the dice sometimes show to 4, or two 6, or a 4 and a 6. In consequence of one of these numbers, the elephant moves along the whole side of the margin in the chess-board ; in consequence of the other number, it moves along the other side on the other margin of the board, in case there is no impediment in the way. In consequence of these two numbers, the elephant in the course of his moves, occupies the two ends of the diagonal.

The pieces have certain values, according to which the player gets his share of the stake, for the pieces are taken and passes into the hands of the player. The value of the king is 5, that of the elephant 4, of the horse 3, of the tower 2, and of the pawn 1. He who takes a king gets 5, for two kings he gets 10, for three kings 15, if the winner is no longer in possession of his own king. But if he has still his own king, and takes all three kings, he gets 54, a number which represents a progression based on general consent and not on an algebraic principle" (Al-Beruni's India, London, 1910, vol. I. pp. 183 f).

36a. We may now be allowed to assume that *aṣṭāpada* mentioned in the Sūtrakṛtāṅga (c. 500 A. C.)[1] and similar Jain works, and the Viṣṇupurāṇa (c. 500 A. C.) related to Caturaṅga, and that the *aṣṭāpada*, in the sense of the game of C. or the game-board (for it) was in use between 900 and 500 A. C. Going up to a few centuries earlier we come across this same term in the Harivaṃśa (c. 400-200 A. C.) and the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (c. 100 A. C.) And at a time earlier still we meet this word in the Rāmāyaṇa (c. 200 B. C.), the Brahmajāla-sutta (500 B. C.) and the Vinayapiṭaka (500 B. C.). Now, what will be the meaning of *aṣṭāpada* appearing in these works ? Can it be game of C. or the game-board for it ? Though there is no direct evidence which may give us sure light in this matter we

1. It was more or less two hundred years after this that the Harṣacarita was written (see p. xxi). In this work *aṣṭāpada* stands expressly connected with the C. (*ibid*).

may still consider the attending circumstances to give a tentative answer to this question. How long a popular game and for that matter any human institution can live, cannot be precisely determined in any way. But in view of the fact that modern chess already enjoys a life of nearly a millenium and a half it may not be wrong to assume that about 500 A. C. the Caturaṅga was already existing for at least 1000 years. Hence, it seems very much likely, though by no means sure, that the meaning which the word *aṣṭāpada* had between 900 A. C. and 500 A. C. goes far back into history *i. e.*, up to the time of Buddha who prohibited this game for the monks ordained in his sect. This would stretch roughly the pre-chess history of C. to the middle of the first millenium before Christ.

37. This antiquity of C., however, rests more or less on indirect evidence. But it may not on that account be considered invalid. From the certain aspects of the game too we seem to have more or less clear hints as to its high antiquity. The first of these aspects is that C., unlike its descendant (chess) has not any m i n i s t e r (*mantrin*) by the side of its kings. This seems to point to a period in the history of the evolution of monarchy when the king either acted as his own minister or had no *one* fixed minister. Indeed we seem to find such a period in the history of Hindu political theories. The eleven *ratnis,* to whom offerings were to be made, according to the Ś a t a p a t h a B r ā h m a ṇ a, did not include any one expressly known as *mantrin* or *amātya* (K. P. Jayaswal, 'Hindu Polity', II. pp. 16 f). This may well be interpreted as that either the king was his own minister or consulted all the eleven of his high functionaries. The first alternative seems to us to be the most probable though Mr. J a y a s w a l would accept only the second (*idid.* p. 21). For Manu's repeated injunctions against a king's independence of any minister point out, though indirectly, that kings were sometimes self-willed and autocratic (*ibid* p. 117). But whatever might be the actual fact in the case, it is sure that the institution of *one* minister or at least *one* prime minister was still unknown

in the period of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. And the Caturaṅga which apparently reflects this primitive condition has no *mantrin* by the side of its kings. This fact may be considered as an indication of the great antiquity of the game.

Another aspect of the C. which may vouch for its antiquity is its primitive *maṇḍala* (see §5, i) which has for it the *vijigīṣu* (conqueror), one *mitra* (ally), one *ari* (enemy) and one *arimitra* (enemy's ally). In ancient Indian treatises on polity we find *maṇḍalas* of various types, consisting of kings whose number is four, six, eight, twelve or more. Among them works of K a u ṭ i l y a (c. 300 B. C.), K ā m a n d a k a (c. 400 A. C.) and Ś u k r a discuss *maṇḍalas* with eight or twelve members. It may not be wrong to assume that *maṇḍalas* of twelve or more kings did not rise all at once and must have evolved from the primitive *maṇḍala* of four kings which we find in the C. This would place the game long before Kauṭilya.

38. The character of the C. as an *akṣa-dyūta* or *dyūta* seems also to point to its high antiquity. In the Vedic India *dyūta* (gambling) was very much popular. But in the Ṛ g v e d a (c. 1500 B. C.) and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (c. 800 B. C.) the word *caturaṅga* occurs only in the sense of 'one having four limbs or parts'. Added to this the fact that the *vibhīdaka* nuts were used as dice it may be assumed that the Vedic Aryans probably did not know the game. But of this, as we shall see later on (§40), we cannot be quite sure.

In the Epic age, however, the situation seems to change considerably. In the M a h ā b h a r a t a *caturaṅga* was associated exclusively with *bala* (army) and came generally to mean 'the four-membered army' or 'army'. As for the game of C. Mbh. does not contain any direct evidence about it. What we learn from this work about any board-game is about the *akṣa* or *akṣadyūta* or the so-called dice. This *akṣa* often translated as 'gambling' was then considered a knightly recreation (Cambridge

History of India, p. 262). For, Yudhisthira says that on being challenged for a game of dice he cannot turn his back on it (आह्वतोऽहं न निवर्ते ed. Vaṅgavāsī, Sabhā, v. 68, 16).

Now *akṣa* as a knightly recreation probably points to its being something more than mere dice. Could it not be a w a r - g a m e associated with dice? Probably so it could be, for the Caturaṅga-dīpikā (1500 A. C.) records a tradition that Yudhiṣṭhira played the game of C. which symbolized a fight between kings.

This tradition is indeed very late but there seems to be nothing against its being genuinely old. If *akṣa* (dice) was considered a knightly pastime it had considerable chance of being a kind of war-game. Now the only kind of war-game, associated with dice, that we know of, is the C. Hence it may be presumed, though there may not be in it anything like certainty, that Yudhiṣṭhira in the Ur-Mbh. played this very game with his cousins, and the redactors of the present Mbh. changed the description of the game, as it gradually became obsolete. Now the Ur-Mbh. may go back to 600 B. C. (see M. Winternitz, 'A History of Indian Literature' vol. I. p. 474).

The Origin and Development of Caturanga

39. Board games or games requiring plain surface for play has been divided by Murray (p. 31) into three classes :

(1) Race games, in which all men (pieces) are moved along a definite track. The typical example of this is the game of *golokdhām* (গোলোকধাম). The European game backgammon also belongs to this category.

(2) Hunt or seize games, in which one side endeavours to block or capture the adversary. The typical example is *vāgh-bandī* (বাঘবন্দী). The European example is the game of fox and the goose.

(3) War games, in which capture of prisoners plays a considerable part. The typical examples of this are the Caturaṅga and the chess.

"Board games appear very early in the history of human civilization. They were played by the early inhabitants of Egypt ; boards and pieces have been found in tombs even as old as the pre-dynastic period (c. 4000 B. C.) and they are depicted in paintings in tombs of he Fifth Dynasty (3600-3400 B. C.) and the masons who built the temple of Kurna (1400-1333 B. C.) cut boards on slabs which were afterwards built into the roof of the temple. Boards apparently for games have been found in the pre-historic ruins in Palestine" (Murray pp. 29-30). It appears likely that in the pre-historic India (of c. 3500 B. C.) too board games were known. For according to Mr. Mackay dice discovered in Mohenjo-daro were quite possibly used in conjunction with board games (Sir John Marshall, 'Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization', p. 552).

40. We have no means of knowing whether the board games which appear to have been played by the Mohenjo-daro people were in any way related to the game of Caturaṅga or any-

thing akin to it ; but there are perhaps indications from which it may be surmised that such a relationship might not have been altogether impossible. For example, the prevailing type of dice discovered in the Indus valley is cube-sized and has on it marks of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 (not by numerals but by small ring-marks). In dice connected with the C. too similar marks are to be used for indicating 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 (see Notes on 11). The relative position of these marks in the two kinds of dice is, however, not similar. The objects among Indus valley finds suspected by Mr. Mackay to be chess-men might be real chess-men (associated probably with a kind of dice-chess) or they might be pieces used in ordinary dice[1]. But whatever might be the value of these indications they do not certainly give us any sure clue about the origin of the game of Caturaṅga. From these one may, however, be tempted to assume that dice connected with the C. may probably go back to the time of the Indus culture. Such an assumption, however, may not be quite safe. The Vedic dice of *vibhīdaka* nuts by the side of the cube-sized dice (of baked earth) of the Indus valley give rise to a problem. There is no means of knowing the exact significance of these two types of dice. And without entering into any discussion on this question which relates more to the origin of Indian culture than to the origin of the C. we pass on to the early Epic age (c. 600 B. C.) when the game of C. in all probability arose (see §38).

41. In exactly what form the game was played in the beginning we have no means of knowing. It can only be assumed that it was surely not played in every detail similar to our C. The only element, that this early C. possessed, was certainly dice-throw for regulating the movement of pieces, the four kings with their attending forces. But the game requiring four persons to play it, was surely considered very complex. Hence a two-handed variety of C. could develop in course of time. But the C., be it of the

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1. See Earnest Mackay, 'Indus Civilization', London, 1935, pp. 180-181 ; and also Kunjagovinda Goswami, 'Pre-historic Mohenjo-daro' (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1936, p. 43.

four-handed or the two-handed variety, was a play which involved gambling. Now the gambling was very often a source of misery. Hence in course of time, the state found it advisable to make a wholesale prohibition of it. All this is what we can gather from works like M a n u - s a ṃ h i t ā. The relevant passages from Manu (with Kullūka's gloss) are as follows :

द्यूतं च जनवादं च परिवादं तथानृतम् ।

II, 179

(द्यूत=अक्षक्रीडा, Kullūka)

नाक्षैः क्रीडेत् कदाचित्तु स्वयं नोपानहौ हरेत् ।

IV, 74

(ग्लहं विना कदाचिदपि परिहासेनापि नाक्षादिभिः क्रीडेत्, Kullūka)

प्रातिभाव्यं वृथादानमाक्षिकं सौरिकं च यत् ।

VIII, 159

(आक्षिकं द्यूतनिमित्तम्, Kullūka)

क्रमशः क्षेत्रजादीनां द्यूतधर्मं निबोधत ॥

द्यूतं समाह्वयं चैव राजा राष्ट्रान्निवारयेत् ।

राज्यान्तःकरणावेतौ द्वौ दोषौ पृथिवीक्षिताम् ॥

प्रकाशमेतत्तास्कर्यं यद्देवनसमाह्वयौ ।

तयोर्नित्यं प्रतीघाते नृपतिर्यत्नवान् भवेत् ॥

अप्राणिभिर्यत् क्रियते तल्लोके द्यूतमुच्यते ।

प्राणिभिः क्रियते यस्तु स विज्ञेयः समाह्वयः ॥

द्यूतं समाह्वयं चैव यः कुर्यात् कारयेत वा ।

तान् सर्वान् घातयेद्राजा शूद्रांश्च द्विजलिङ्गिनः ॥

IX. 220—224.

(अक्षशलाकादिभिरप्राणैर्यत् क्रियते तल्लोके द्यूतं कथ्यते । यः पुनः प्राणिभिर्मेषकुक्कुटादिभिः पणपूर्वकं क्रियते स समाह्वयो ज्ञेयः ।......द्यूतसमाह्वयौ यः कुर्याद्यो वा सभिकः कारयेत्तेषामपराधापेक्षया राजा हस्तच्छेदादिवधं कुर्यात् । यज्ञोपवीतादिद्विजचिह्नधारिणः शूद्रान् हन्यात्, Kullūka) ।

द्यूतमेतत् पुराकल्पे दृष्टं वैरकरं महत् ।
तस्माद् द्यूतं न सेवेत हास्यार्थमपि बुद्धिमान् ॥
प्रच्छन्नं वा प्रकाशं वा तन्निषेवेत यो नरः ।
तस्य दण्डविकल्पः स्याद् यथेष्टं नृपतेस्तथा ॥

IX. 227—228.

Surely the strong term (*i. e.*, 'open robbery') with which gambling has been condemned, and the severe state-interference which has been earnestly advocated in the passages quoted above, probably make it clear that there came a time in the history of C. when it could not be openly played without giving up its gambling character[1]. This possibly had a very profound influence in determining its evolution towards the early chess. The date of the Manusaṃhitā has been very definitely settled by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal according to whom the work in its present form is earlier than 100 A. C., while its original form, substantially existing in its present redaction, goes back to about 100 B. C. (Manu and Yajñavalkya, *Tagore Law Lectures*, 1917, Lecture II. esp. p. 50). We have seen above that about 500 A. C. the early chess was already in existence. Hence it may be assumed that in the period between 200 B. C. and 500 A. C. Caturaṅga gradually changed to chess. The principal stages through which the game is likely to have passed might have been as follows (see Diagrams 1, 2 and 13):

A. four-handed dice-chess (*caturaṅga*).

B. two-handed dice-chess *i. e.*, each player having at his disposal two kings and other pieces, each king keeping to his court.

C. *B* with the two kings standing side by side.

D. two of the kings in *B* changed for two *mantrins* (ministers).

1. Mr. Murray finds it difficult to believe that gambling might ever have been restrained in India (p. 75).

Of the four possible stages *D* is well known and *A* is to be found in the CD. and CT. and a game like *C* has also been heard of (Murray, pp. 59, 74). Hence the stage *B* may well be assumed. In courses of all the different stages through which C. passed before it finally developed to chess, the movement of different pieces is likely to have changed from time to time and place to place. Except on this assumption we cannot account for the different movements of the elephant recorded by different writers (see Murray, p. 59).

42. Even if it may be said that the game of C. had some chance of being invented in the Epic age (c. 600 B. C.) or its neighbourhood we have absolutely no data for determining its place of origin. Conjectures on this point will be futile (see Notes on 8-9). Hence, we pass on to the story of the spread of its descendant, the game of chess, over different quarters of the globe. But there we do not now meet the game in its original Indian form. And chess mentioned in this connexion should be understood as a game having only some historical and fundamental affinity with the Indian game. Under these circumstances it may be assumed that the chess having been invented about 500 A. C. did not take a very long time to spread over the different countries of Asia.

43. Mr. Murray thinks that about 700 A. C. chess might have reached Burma directly from the Gangetic basin and is undoubtedly of high antiquity in this country (pp. 108-109). It is, however, possible that the game went there much earlier. The Burmese name for chess is *sittuyin* ; it is probably connected with *caturaṅga.* The occurrence of 'chariot' in the place of 'boat' in the Burmese chess probably shows that the game was derived very early from the north-western India or the Indian Midland.

44. In Siamese chess 'boat' has replaced 'chariot', and it may be presumed that this game was derived from the Vaṅga-Magadha (Bengal-Bihar) region where we meet later with C. having 'boat' in the place of its 'chariot' (see Notes on 8-9, p. 4). We have no means of guessing the probable date of introduction of the

game in Siam. In Annam too we meet with the game and it is called *chhoen trăng* (a word connected with *caturaṅga*). Chess is very widely played by the Malayan people and it is one of their most popular games. Sumatra, Java and Borneo have each its own game of chess. People of Sumatra play this game for stake and in this way prove to be maintaining the tradition of the good old C. It cannot be ascertained when the game was introduced here for the first time, but it is sure that it was not much later than 700 A. C. One common Malayan name for C. is *chātor* derived most probably from *caturaṅga*. The name *ter* for boat (rook) may be connected with Skt. *tarī* and this may be said to indicate that the game was derived from the Vaṅga-Magadha region. Javanese chess too has the boat (*prahu*) and seems to have been received from the north-eastern India.

45. The Chinese chess though it considerably differs from that of India has been taken to be of Indian origin. The names of pieces such as chariot, horse, elephant and councellor conclusively prove this (Murray, p. 119). From the occurrence of 'chariot' it may be assumed that the Chinese game went out from the north-western India. Buddhism too reached China from the same region. But there is no sure data for determining the time of the introduction of chess into China. The earliest sure reference to Chinese chess occurs in a work dated the 8th century A. C. (Murray, p. 123). The game might have entered China by the 700 A. C. In Corea too chess is played but it is probably derived from the Chinese game. Japanese chess is again derived from an old variety of Corean game now extinct, (Murray, p. 134). But the entry of the game into Japan cannot be placed earlier than the 10th century (Murray, p. 138).

46. The introduction of chess into Persia has been discussed before (§35). It is the Persian name of the king that has been proved to be at root of naming this piece in different European languages. The game of chess entered the Byzantian Empire by about the 8th century not from India direct but from Persia

(Murray, pp. 163ff). The earliest mention of chess in Arabic literature occurs in the work of Al-Ādli (900 A. C.), and during the first two centuries of the Abbāsid Caliphate was written a vast literature on chess (Murray, p. 169).

47. Besides being played in countries named above the game of chess is current among peoples of Tibet, Mongolia, Siberia, Turkestan and Trans-Caucasia (Murray, p. 366).

48. So far about the game of chess in different parts of Asia. In the countries of Europe too the game spread from Arabic source from about 800 A. C. onwards (Murray, p. 402). And in the present times it is the E u r o p e a n variety of chess that is much in vogue all over the world.

VII

The Caturangadipika and its Author

49. The unique Ms. of the Caturaṅgadīpikā (Visvabharati Ms. No. 970), according to its colophon, was written in 1701 śaka (*candra-khāśvāśvinī-māne śāke*). It consists of eight paper leaves 13½″×3½″ inches. Though very legibly written, it is full of different kinds of errors, the nature and extent of which will be discovered by a glance at the foot-notes of the Sanskrit text. In spite of the best efforts of the editor a small number of passages remained almost obscure. Reconstruction and interpretation in these cases are to be taken as tentative. It may, however, be hoped that their number will not be too many and they will not materially affect whatever has been said about the origin and development of the game of C. on the basis of the present text. The editor is well aware of the danger of preparing a critical edition from a corrupt Ms. and would have left alone the present work owing to this difficulty ; but the importance of the text of the CD., however imperfectly handed down, for the history of the modern chess, demanded that this unique material in hand should be utilized as far as possible. This has been the justification for publishing the present volume containing the text of the CD.

50. The CD. is composed in Skt. verse and prose. It appears very much to be a compilation from various works (now lost)[1] on the subject. Prose passages mostly in the nature of comments seem to be by an author different from Śūlapāṇi the compiler of the original work, which except for prose connecting links, is in verse. The name of this second author was one Guru-caraṇa (see the prose passage following śloka. 86).

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1. One Pandit Rādhākānta informed Sir William Jones that the C. passage in the Tithitattva occurred in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa. Available versions of the Purāṇa, however, does not contain this (see Murray, p. 49). This Purāṇa, however, might have been known to the Pandit in a different recension.

The CD. treats the game of four-handed dice-chess in considerable details. But the game seems to have been too complex to be conveniently treated exhaustively in writing. Though a very general view of the game is available from the work much obscurity still lingers and we have noticed it before.

51. It seems that quite a good number of works on the subject was current at one time. For the CD. mentions the names of the following: Caturaṅga-paddhati, Divya-mālikā (or Mālikā), Yāmala, Bhārata. But none of these works unfortunately are available. The only available text on C. other than the CD. is the Caturaṅga-taraṅgiṇī mentioned before. Our text, besides referring to works named above, mentions the following persons as authorities on the game :

Vyāsa, Yama, Pitāmaha (Brahmā ?), Gautama, Bhṛgu, Manu, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, Agastya, Mahāmanu, Pitāmaha-Manu, Jābāla, Yājñavalkya, Miśra, Gurucaraṇa. In none of the available Purāṇas and similar works we come across any information connecting any of these names with C. But it is, however, possible that writings on C. ascribed to these authorities have been lost to us.

52. According to the colophon of the Ms. *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Śūlapāṇi is the author of the CD. But we have already pointed out that he should be considered merely the compiler of the metrical portion of the text. Śūlapāṇi's date is fairly certain. He was a *Smṛti-nibandhakāra* of Bengal and flourished in the 15th century. His other works are several *Vivekas* e. g., the Śuddhi-viveka, the Śrāddha-viveka etc. (For an account of Śulapāṇi see JASB for 1915, pp. 336-343 and P. V. Kane, 'History of Dharmaśāstra', Poona, 1930, vol. I, pp. 393f). Raghunandana (16th century) considerably exploited the works of his famous predecessor while writing his several *Tattvas*. Hence it is only natural that some thirty-four couplets of the CD. are found in the Tithitattva of this author.

Appendix to the Introduction

Kṛṣṇapāda seems to be no other than Kānupa, Kānha or Kṛṣṇâcārya ; he flourished at a time prior to 1200 A. C. (S. K. Chatterji, 'The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language', §63). The following *caryāpada* of Kṛṣṇa, according to the opinion of Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah [প্রতিভা ঢাকা, ১৩২৪ (?)] and others, contains a reference to the game of chess :

করুণা পিহাড়ি খেলহুঁ নঅবল
সদ্‌গুরু বোহেঁ জিতেল ভববল ॥ ধ্রু ॥
ফীটউ দুআ মা দেসিরে ঠাকুর
তআরি উএস কাহ্নু ণিঅড় জিনউর ॥ ধ্রু ॥
পহিলেঁ তোড়িআ বড়িআ মরাড়ি-(ই)উ
গঅবরেঁ তোলিআ পাঞ্চজনা ঘোলিউ ॥ ধ্রু ॥
মতিএঁ ঠাকুরক পরিনিবিত্তা
অবশ করিআ ভববল জিতা ॥ ধ্রু ॥
ভণই কাহ্নু আহ্মে ভলি দাহ দেহুঁ
চউষট্‌টি কোঠা গুণিআ লেহুঁ ॥ ধ্রু ॥

(H. P. Shastri, 'Bauddha gān-o-dohā', Calcutta, 1323 B.E., p. 22).

The chief objection to Dr. Shahidullah's view comes from the word *duā*, which cannot mean anything other than *a throw of two* in a game involving the use of dice. We do not know of any two-handed chess combined with dice. The next objection is about the interpretation of the word *matiẽ* which Dr. Shahidullah likes to derive from *mantrī* in opposition to the Skt. commentary to the *caryāpada* which translates it with *matyā*. The phonetic difficulty in Dr. Shahidullah's derivation is so great that one will hardly find it acceptable and hence we have no reason to reject the view of the commentator who seems to have had a very clear idea of the game referred to in the *caryāpada*. The preface to the commentator's exposition of the *caryā* (*punar api tam evârthaṃ dyūta-krīḍā-dhyānena prakathayanti Kṛṣṇâcārya-pādāḥ...*) shows that the game referred to was a *dyūta-krīḍā*. We have seen before that the game of Caturaṅga was also described as such. All these seem to point to the conclusion that Kṛṣṇapāda in his *caryā* referred not to chess but to Caturaṅga.

SANSKRIT TEXT

शूलपाणिकृता

चतुरङ्गदीपिका

—:०:—

ॐ नमो गणेशाय ।

नत्वा हरिपदाम्भोजं भ्रमद्भ्रमरगुञ्जितम्[1] ।
दीपिका चतुरङ्गस्य क्रियते शूलपाणिना ॥ १ ॥

तद्यथा—जनमेजयसूतपक्षिनारदयुधिष्ठिरव्याससंवादे[2] चतुरङ्गक्रीडा भुवि प्रचार्यते । जनमेजयः[3] सूतमपृच्छत् ।* सूतेनापि व्यासाद् यद् वृत्तं[3a] श्रुतं तत्तस्मै कथितम् । तद्यथा—पुरा[4] कश्चिन्मुनिपुत्रः शापात् पक्षी [5]जातस्तेन पक्षिणा इन्द्राय कथितं क्रीडन्तमिन्द्रं दृष्ट्वा नारदः[6] युधिष्ठिराय कथयामास युधिष्ठिरश्च व्यासमपृच्छत् । व्यासेन यदुक्तं तत् शृणु—

जनमेजय[7] उवाच—

कर्मणा केन [8]भगवन् श्रियं प्राप्तो युधिष्ठिरः ।
विस्तरेण च तत् कर्म कथ्यतां मे तपोधन ॥ २ ॥

सूत उवाच—

स्वर्गे सभायां राजेन्द्र महेन्द्रस्य [9]पुरैकदा ।
कश्चित् पक्षी[10] समायातस्तेनागादि सुरेश्वरः ॥ ३ ॥

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1. ms. -तं. 2. ms. -सम्बादे. 3. -जय. 3a. ms. -सान्तं. 4. ms. पूरा. 5. ms. यात०. 6. ms. नारद. 7. ms. जन्मेजय. 8. ms. भगवन्. 9. ms. पूरै-!. 10. ms. पक्षीः.

इन्द्र त्वं देवशार्दूल[1] कुरु क्रीडां महामते।
मदुक्तां शृणु राजेन्द्र सर्वकामफलप्रदाम् ॥ ४ ॥
अतियत्नेन राजेन्द्र नारदेन सुरर्षिणा।
श्रुतं तन्नरशार्दूल[1] तेनागादि युधिष्ठिरः ॥ ५ ॥
[2]तच् श्रुत्वा नृपतिश्रेष्ठो[3] हृष्टः सपदि खेलने।
आह्वानं कृतवांस्तत्र[4] व्यासादीनां तपस्विनाम् ॥
मुनीनां कुञ्जरं व्यासं कथयामास पार्थिवः ॥ ६ ॥

युधिष्ठिर उवाच—

[5]अष्टकोष्ठ्यान्तु या क्रीडा[6] तां मे ब्रूहि तपोधन।
[7]प्रकर्षेणैव मे(?)नाथ [8]चतूराजी यथा भवेत् ॥ ७ ॥

व्यास उवाच—

अष्टौ कोष्ठान् समालिख्य प्रदक्षिणक्रमेण तु।
अरुणं पूर्वतः कृत्वा दक्षिणे हरितं बलम् ॥ ८ ॥
पार्थ पश्चिमतः पीतमुत्तरे श्यामलं बलम्
राज्ञो वा[*1b*]मे गजं कुर्यात् तस्मादश्वं ततस्तरिम्।
कुर्यात् कौन्तेय पुरतो युद्धे पत्तिचतुष्टयम्[9] ॥ ९ ॥

यमस्तु—

कोणे नौका द्वितीयेऽश्वस्तृतीये च गजो वसेत्।
तुरीये च वसेद्राजा [10]पुरतो वटिकाः स्थिताः ॥ १० ॥

इति वचनक्रमेण बलानि पातयेत्।

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1. ms. -शार्द्दूल. 2. ms. तत्. 3. ms. -श्रेष्ठः. 4. ms. -वान्तत्र. 5. अष्टकोष्ठान्तु. 6. Ś यां क्रीडां. 7. ms. प्रकर्षंनेव. 8. Ś चतुराजी. 9. ms. adds इति व्यासः. 10. Ś वटिकाः पुरतः स्थिताः.

पञ्चकेन वटी राजा चतुष्केणैव कुञ्जरः ।
तृतीये च[1] चलत्यश्वः पार्थ नौका द्वयेन तु ॥ ११ ॥

इति क्रमेण बलानि पातयेत् । [2]त्रिकेणेति [च] पाठः ।*

चतुरङ्गपद्धतावपि—

वटिका पञ्चके राजन् राजाऽप्येवं हि गच्छति ।
[3]तुर्ये गजस्तृतीये [च][4] चलत्यश्वो द्वये तरिः ॥ १२ ॥

इति[4a] ।

कोष्ठमेकं विलङ्घ्याथ सर्वतो याति भूपतिः ।
अग्र एव वटी याति बलं हन्त्यग्रकोणगम् ॥ १३ ॥
यथेष्टं कुञ्जरो याति चतुर्दिक्षु महीपते ।
[5][तिर्यक् तुरङ्गमो याति लङ्घयित्वा त्रिकोष्ठकम् ।]
कोणकोष्ठद्वयं लङ्घ्य व्रजेन्नौका युधिष्ठिर ॥ १४ ॥

दिव्यमालिकायां—

सिंहासनं चतूराजी नृपाकृष्टन्तु षट्पदम् ।
काककाष्ठं बृहन्नौका नौकाकृष्टप्रकारकम् ॥ १५ ॥

इति व्यासः । सिंहासनं प्रवेशः, नृपाकृष्टं वकडावकडी, षट्पदं[6] पत्तिप्रवेशः, नौकाकृष्टं नकडी ।

यमः—

घाताघाते वटीनौका बलं हन्ति युधिष्ठिर[7] ।
राजा गजो हयश्चापि त्यक्त्वा घातं निहन्ति वै[8] ॥ १६ ॥

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1. Ś त्रिकेण तु. 2. ms. चतुरङ्गपद्धतावपि त्रिकोणेति पाठः. 3. ms. तूर्ये. 4. ms. *avagraha* only for च. 4a. ms. adds च. 5. ms. omits this hemistich ; it has been taken from Ś. 6. ms. -पदम् । पत्तिप्रवेशः. 7. ms. -ष्ठिरः. 8. Ś च.

यत एते महाबलाः

अत्यन्तं स्वबलं रक्षेत् [1]स्वराजबलमुत्तमम् ।

स्वल्पस्या[2a]रक्षया राजन् हन्तव्यं बलमुत्तमम् ॥ १७ ॥

बलं हन्तव्यमित्यर्थः । केषाञ्चिन्मते 'अत्यन्तं स्वबलं रक्षेत् स्वराजबलमुत्तमम्' एतेनातिममत्वं दर्शितम्[2] ।* 'स्वराज-[बलं'] स्वकीयराजबलमिवात्यन्तं महद्यत्नेन [रक्षेत् ।] उत्तमे चेत्[3] यथात्मबले ममता स्वपक्षीयायां सेनायामपि तथा कल्पेत[4] इति भावः । मित्रस्यापि किञ्चिदभिमतस्यापि ।

नौकायाश्चत्वारि पदान्यश्वस्याष्टौ पदानि च ।

मतङ्गजस्य गर्भेण राजा क्रीडति निर्भयम्[5] ।

तस्मात् सर्वबलं दत्त्वा रक्ष कौन्तेय कुञ्जरम् ॥ १८ ॥

पितामहस्तु—

तस्माद् यत्नेन कौन्तेय कुञ्जरं रक्ष सर्वतः ॥ १९ ॥

[6]चतुरङ्गपद्धतौ तु—

तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन रक्ष कौन्तेय कुञ्जरम् ॥ २० ॥

तस्मात् नैव सर्वबलं दत्त्वा कुञ्जरो न रक्षणीयः ।

मालिकायां व्यासः—

न कुर्यादेकदा राजन् गजस्याभिमुखं गजम् ।

यदि कुर्वीत धर्मज्ञः पापग्रस्तो भविष्यति ॥ २१ ॥

इति वचनाद् गजसम्मुखे गजं नैव पातयेत् ।

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1. Ś. स्वराजा०. ms. स्वराजबलमुत्तमः. 2. ms. -तं. 3. ms. उत्तमश्चेत्. 4. ms. कल्पते. 5. ms. निर्भरम्. 6. ms. चतुरङ्गपद्धतौ तु नैव तस्मात् सर्वबलं दत्त्वा कुञ्जर न रक्षणीयः । तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन न रक्ष कौन्तेय कुञ्जरं for चतुरङ्गपद्धतौ……रक्षणीयः.

यमस्तु—

गजस्य संमुखे राजन् गजं नैव प्रपातयेत् ।
प्रमादात् क्रियते येन विप्रहत्यां[1] करोति सः ॥ २२ ॥

प्रमादात् स्थानाभावे[ऽपि] गजं न चालयेत्। मैथिलास्तु 'मृतेऽपि धेढि न दीयते' इति जानन्तोऽपि गजयोर्मध्यबलं चालयन्ति ।* तत्तेषामज्ञानाजीर्णोद्गारवमनम् ।

अतो व्यासस्तु—

अतिप्रमादाद्राजेन्द्र गजयोर्मध्यगं[2] बलम् ।
चालयेन्न च पुण्यार्थी [3]तद्दानं नैव खेलयेत् ॥ २३ ॥

इति वचनाद् यदि गजयोर्मध्ये बलं तिष्ठति तदा पतिते दानेऽपि तद्बलं नैव खेलयेत् ।

पतिते वाजिनो दाने नो चेत् कोष्ठन्तु विद्यते ।
चालयि[*2b*]त्वा च वटिकां राज्ञः क्रोडेऽस्य [4]संस्थितिः ॥२४॥

इति गौतमवचनात् पश्चात्रि[5] पतितेऽश्वस्य स्थानाभावे राजसम्मुखवटिकां चालयित्वा तत्रैवाश्वस्य स्थानम्, न तु कोणवटिकाम्, एषा तु [अ]श्वकोष्ठस्थिताऽश्वोऽपरः[6] । मैथिलास्तु 'दायोरावश्यकत्वम्' ।* एतत्तु एतद्विषये, परं सर्वत्र बोद्धव्यम् ।

[7]बलद्वये चैककोष्ठे ज्येष्ठत्वाच्चालयेद्बुधः ।
पश्चात्रि[8] पञ्च ज्येष्ठं स्यादेवं सर्वत्र युज्यते ॥ २५ ॥

इति गौतमः ।

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1. ms. -हत्या. 2. ms. -मध्यमं. 3. ms. तद्धानं. 4. ms. संस्थितिरिति. 5. ms. पञ्चः त्रि. 6. ms. एतत्तु स्वकोष्ठस्थित्वाश्वपरं. 7. ms. द्वौ बलस्यैककोष्ठस्य. 8. पञ्च त्रि.

व्यासस्तु—

पञ्चत्रि[1] पतिते दाने कोष्ठमेकं पुनर्द्वयोः ।
ज्येष्ठत्वाच्चालये[त्] पञ्च पार्थैतत् कथितं ध्रुवम् ॥ २६ ॥

इति वचनात् पञ्चत्रि पतिते दाने ज्येष्ठत्वात् पञ्च एव चालयेत् न तु त्रिः । एवं सर्वत्र ज्ञेयम् । चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्येवम् ।

द्वैविधं हि बलं प्राप्तं स्वल्पं वा यदि वा बहु ।
हन्तव्यं गौरवं यत्र इति पार्थ मयेरितम्[2] ॥ २७ ॥
हस्त्यश्वपत्तिनौकायाम्[3] एवं सर्वत्र युज्यते ।
राजकुञ्जरयोः पार्थ स्वेच्छया नृपरक्षणम् ॥ २८ ॥

इति वचनात् यदा द्वैविधं बलं प्राप्नोति तदा [4]यत्र गौरवं तद्धन्तव्यम् ।* हस्त्यश्वयोर्मध्ये हस्त्येव गरीयान्, पत्तिनौकयोर्मध्ये नौकैव गरीयसी, किन्तु राजकुञ्जरयोर्मध्ये कर्तुर्या इच्छा। 'गौरवं यत्र [इति] पार्थ मयेरितम्'[4] अत्र यतिभङ्गाद[4a]-सन्धिः ।* सन्धिस्तु [5]कर्तुरिच्छया [·········] ।* वस्तुतस्तु गज एव हन्तव्यः[5a], यतो बलानां श्रेष्ठत्वात् ।

ज्येष्ठो बलानां राजेन्द्र गज एव प्रकीर्त्तितः ।
इतरेषाञ्च सर्वेषामेकतस्तु युधिष्ठिर ॥ २९ ॥

ज्ञातव्य इति शेषः । 'एकत' एकम् एकं कृत्वा ।* पत्तिनौकयोर्नौकैव[6] ।

मालिकायाम्—

[7]घातयेद्विन्धयेत् पार्थ सर्वत्रैव हि बुद्धि[*3a*]मान् ।
बिन्धने शृणु कौन्तेय व्यवस्थां ददतो मम ॥ ३० ॥

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1. ms. पञ्चत्रिः. 2. ms. मयेरितं. 3. ms. -यां. 4. ms. तत्र. 4a. -भङ्गत्वाद-. 5. ms. मनुच्छया. 5a. ms. adds यतो. 6. नौकेव. 7. ms. -द्विसन्धयेत्.

बिन्धयेद् यत्र तत्रैव बलं दृष्ट्वा हि चोत्तमम्।
बिन्धने सति राजेन्द्र मित्रस्य चाऽऽत्मनोऽपि वा ॥ ३१ ॥
शक्यते बिन्धनं छेत्तुं [विपत्त्यान्न][1] तु बिन्धयेत्।
तदभावे नृपश्रेष्ठ सुतरां[2] बिन्धयेत् सुधीः।
जानतो बिन्धनं नास्ति त्विति व्याससमीरितम् ॥ ३२ ॥

इति व्यासवचनात् [यदा] मित्रस्य आत्मनो बलस्य बिन्धने सति तद्बलेन बिन्धनं छेत्तुं शक्यते तदा बिन्धनं छेद्यं न तु [3]विपत्त्यान् बिन्धयेत्।* किन्तु तदभावे चेद् बिन्धनं छेत्तुं न शक्यते तदा बिन्धयेत्।* किन्तु चेत् स्वल्पमपि घातितुं शक्यते तदा न बिन्धयेत्।

अत्र प्रतिप्रसवमाह भृगुः—

खादयेद् यस्य कौन्तेय न दोषस्तस्य बिन्धने।
न च कार्यं तस्य मैत्रे भृगुणा कथितं मतम् ॥ ३३ ॥

इति वचनाद् यस्य बलं खादितुं न शक्यते तन्न खाद्यम्[4]। तस्य बलं [5]बेन्धुं शक्यते। अत्र निर्दोषः। [6][मि]त्रबलं बेन्धुं न शक्यते।

बलस्य घातने पार्थ बिन्धनं चेत् समुत्थितम्।
मित्रस्य इति विख्यातो बलाघातस्तु पाण्डव[7] ॥ ३४ ॥

इति वाक्यात् शत्रोर्बलघातने चेन्[8]मित्रस्य बिन्धनं [9]जातं तदा बलाघातः कथ्यते।

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1. ms. omits विपत्त्यान्न, see note 3. 2. ms. सूतवा. 3. This suggests विपत्त्यान्न in śl. 32. 4. ms. खाद्यं. 5. ms. बेन्धु. 6. [×] त्र ब [×] बेन्धु न शक्यते. 7. ms. पाण्डवः. 8. ms. चेत्. 9. ms. घातं.

महाबलांश्च राजेन्द्र सङ्कटस्थान्न कारयेत् ।
सङ्कटे पतिते राजन् ब्रह्महत्यामवाप्स्यति ।
कारयेद् यदि साङ्कट्यं सद्बलं घातयेत्तदा ॥ ३५ ॥

इति व्यासवचनात् महाबलान् सङ्कटस्थान्न कारयेत् । महाबला राजगजाश्वाः । तद्यथा मित्रेण [1]बेन्धोर्विपत्तस्य राजा एवं कोणस्थाया वटिकाया अग्रे [2]चालितोऽश्वस्तिष्ठति चेत् [*3b*]तदात्मनश्चतुः[3]पश्चे सति [दाने] अश्वो नैव हन्तव्यः ।* मैथिलास्तु 'कारयेद् यदि[4] साङ्कट्यं सद्बलं घातयेत्तदा' इति वचनाद्[5] घातयन्ति ।* [6]तच्चचतुरङ्गपद्धतिकारस्य स्वलनमिति गुरुचरणाः ।* वचनस्य [6a]प्रामाण्याभावात् । तन्न तेषां यद्रोच्यते तत् कार्यम् ।

द्वौ बलौ मित्रशत्रोर्हि संप्राप्तौ पार्थ चैकदा ।
हन्तव्यौ द्वौ बलौ राजंस्त्यक्त्वा च वटिकान्तरम् ।
द्वौ बलौ वटिकान्यूनौ द्वौ बलौ बलवत्तरौ ॥ ३६ ॥

इति यमवचनात् तेनावश्यं द्वौ बलौ हन्तव्यौ । एतत्तु सर्वत्रैव[7] योजयेत् ।

[8]राजा गजस्तथैवाश्वो घातं त्यक्त्वा निहन्ति च ।
स्थानाभावेऽपि राजेन्द्र घातेऽपि प्राप्यते बलम् ।
यमेन कथितश्चैतद्धन्तव्यं तद्बलं ततः ॥ ३७ ॥

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1. बन्धो॰. 2. ms. चालिताश्वस्ति॰. 3. ms. चतु. 4. ms. reads वा after this, but it spoils the metre of the quoted verse. 5. ms. वचनात्. 6. ms. तत्. 6a. ms. प्रमाणाभावात्. 7. ms. सर्वत्रेव. 8. This line is repeated in the ms.

इति यमवचनात् घातेऽपीति स्थानाभावे बलं चेत् प्राप्यते तद्बलं हन्तव्यम्। [1]मैथिलैश्च [एतत्] खार[2]ष्कुमावश्च कथ्यते। एतत्तु ग्राम्यभाषा। चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्येवम्।

बलस्य चालने राजन् क्रममाहुर्मनीषिणः[3]।
दर्शयित्वा त्रयं स्थानं तत्र धीमान् बलं नयेत् ॥ ३८ ॥

एवं बलहनने—

बलानां हनने राजन् बलं तूर्णं न तोलयेत्।
दर्शयित्वा बहून् दोषान् बलं तस्माद्धठान्नयेत् ॥ ३९ ॥
प्रमादाद् यदि कौन्तेय भ्रमं स्याद्बलघातने।
[*3a*प्राप्नोति च] बहून् दोषान् पापग्रस्तो भविष्यति ॥४०॥

इति वचनात् मित्रस्य [4]बिन्धनं चेद्वर्त्तते तदा बलं नैव हन्तव्यम्। अज्ञातमित्रेण मित्रस्य बलं हन्तुं न शक्यते। [5]एतत्तूभयत्र ज्ञेयम्।* हत्यादिदोषान् दत्त्वा बलं तत्रैव स्थापयेत्। दोषत्रयं दत्त्वा...... [*4a*] तद्यथा घातत्रये पतति। एवं द्वौ बलौ प्राप्ते अथवा तस्य बलानां बिन्धने सति बिन्धनं छेत्तुं चेत् शक्यते तदा बिन्धनं छेद्यम्[6]।* एवं सर्वत्र[7]। यदि प्रमादात् क्रोधाद् भ्रमं स्याद् दोषे सति दोषान् दर्शयितुं न शक्यते तदा पापग्रस्तो भविष्यति। चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्येवम्।

महाबलाश्च बिद्धाश्चेद् विपक्षे बहुलाभता।
छेदयेद्बिन्धनं राजन् विपक्षं नैव घातयेत् ॥ ४१ ॥

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1. ms. मैथिलाश्च. 2. ms. खारः. 3. ms. मनीषिनः. 3a. ms. भवेत्तस्य. 4. ms. बन्धने. 5. ms. एतत्तुभयत्र। ज्ञेयं इत्यादि. 6. ms. छेद्यं. 7. ms. सर्वत्रं.

इति वचनान् महाबला [1]विद्धाश्चेत् विपक्षस्य बलं प्राप्नोति तदा बिन्धनं छेद्यं न तु विपक्षघातनम्[2]।

अन्यद्राजपदं राजा यदा यातो[3] युधिष्ठिर।
तदा सिंहासनं तस्य [4]भण्यते नृपसत्तम ॥ ४२ ॥

राजा च नृपतिं हत्वा कुर्यात् सिंहासनं यदा।
द्विगुणं वाहयेत् [5]पण्यमन्यथैकगुणं भवेत्[6] ॥ ४३ ॥

द्विगुणत्वे षट्त्रिंशत्पणमित्यर्थः। मैथिलास्तु द्विगुणत्वे द्विसप्ततिः। तत्तेषां स्खलनम्। मित्रराजपदमेव बोद्धव्यम्[7]।

यमस्तु—

मित्रसिंहासनं पार्थ यदारोहति भूपतिः।
तदा सिंहासनं नाम सर्वं नयति तद्बलम् ॥ ४४ ॥

इति वचनादपि षट्त्रिंशद्[8] जयः।

यदा सिंहासनं कर्त्तुं राजा षष्ठपदान्वितः[9]।
तदा घातेऽपि हन्तव्यो बलेनापि सुरक्षितः ॥ ४५ ॥

इति व्यासवचनाद्राजा बलेन सुरक्षितोऽपि यस्मिन् काले ससैन्यः सन् प्रवेशं कर्त्तुमुद्यतस्तदा घातेऽपि हन्तव्यः।

विद्यमाने नृपे [10]यस्य स्वकीये च नृपत्रयम्[11]।
प्राप्नोति च [12]यदा तस्य चतूराजी [13]तदा भवेत् ॥ ४६ ॥

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1. ms. विन्धा-. 2. ms. घातनं. 3. Ś क्रान्तो. 4. ms. प्रवेशमित्यर्थः for भण्यते नृपसत्तम which is in Ś. 5. ms. पुण्य०. 6. Ś adds द्विगुणं पण्यं दातव्यत्वेन प्रापयेत्. 7. ms. -व्यं. 8. ms. त्रिशत्. 9. Ś ०श्रियः. 10. Ś यत्र. 11. ms.-त्रयं. 12. Ś तदा. 13. Ś यदा.

इति व्यासवचनात् स्वकीये नृपे सति [चेत्] राजत्रयं प्राप्नोति तदा तस्य चतूराजी भवेत् ।

नृपेणैव नृपं हत्वा चतूराजी यदा भवेत् ।
द्विगुणं वाहयेत् पण्यमन्यथैकगुणं भवेत् ॥ ४७ ॥

[4b]अत्रापि द्विगुणत्वे षट्त्रिंशद् जयः[1] ।

स्वपदस्थं यदा राजा राजानं हन्ति पार्थिव ।
चतुरङ्गे तदा भूप वाहयेच्च चतुर्गुणम् ॥ ४८ ॥

अत्रेदं बीजम्[2] उभयथा जयेऽपि परसिंहासनाधिकारात् परराजवधे शौर्याधिक्यं निष्कण्टकत्वदर्शनात्, क्रीडायामपि तथा कल्पेत[3] । अत्र चतुर्गुणत्वे द्विसप्ततिर्जयः[4] । मैथिला अप्येवं वदन्ति ।

गौतमः—

यदा सिंहासने काले चतूराजी समुत्थिता ।
[5]चतूराजी भवत्येव न तु सिंहासनं नृप ॥ ४९ ॥

एतत्तु सर्वत्रैव बोद्धव्यम् ।

प्रवेशे यदि तस्यैव [5]चतूराजी भवेत् पुनः ।
चतूराजी च कृत्वा वै द्विगुणं पण्यमाप्नुयात् ॥ ५० ॥

इति वचनात् प्रवेशकाले यदि तस्य चतूराजी भवेत्तदा चतूराजी एव न तु प्रवेशः । पण्यं दातव्यत्वेन प्रापयेत् । [6]चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्येवम् ।

राजद्वयं यदा हस्ते आत्मनो राज्ञि संस्थिते ।
परेण संहृतश्चैको बलेनाप्यपहार्यते ॥ ५१ ॥

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1. ms. ०शतुजयं. 2. ms. बीजं. 3. ms. कल्प्यते. 4. ms. -जयं. 5. ms. चतु-. 6. ms. चतुरङ्गे तावप्येवं.

इति वचनात् राजद्वये सति आत्मनो राज्ञि संस्थिते च परेण चेदेको नीतस्तदा बलेनापहार्यः ।* वस्तुतस्तु नैवं वकडावकडीति नेतुं न शक्यते ।

तद्यथा व्यासः—

उत्थिते च बले राजन्नेवं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः ।
राजत्रये स्थिते [1]हस्ते अन्यो नीतश्च शत्रुणा ।
वकडावकडीत्युक्ते राजानमानयेद्धठात्[2] ॥ ५२ ॥

इति वचनात् राजत्रये[3] हस्तस्थे सति स्वराजो मित्रराजो वा शत्रुणा नीतस्तदा वकडावकडीत्युक्ते तात्कालिकमेव हस्तान्नयेत् ।* नृपाकृष्टमेतत्[4] ।

[5][राजद्वयं यदा हस्ते न स्यादन्यकरे परः ।
तदा राजा हि राजानं घातेऽपि तं हनिष्यति] ॥ ५३ ॥

व्यासः—

नृपाकृष्टं यदा राजा गमिष्यति युधिष्ठिर ।
तदा घातेऽपि हन्तव्यो यदि[6] तत्र न रक्षकः ॥५४॥

इति [*5a*] वचनात् राजा यदि नृपाकृष्टं कर्त्तुं गच्छति[7] तदा घाते हन्तव्यः, नृपाकृष्टभङ्गत्वात् ।

मनुः—

[8]बलेनैकेन राजेन्द्र हस्तिनस्तुरगस्य[9] वा ।
राजेन्द्र बिन्धनं छेत्तुं वकडा चेत् समुत्थिता ॥ ५५ ॥

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1. ms. हस्तेऽन्यश्नीतश्च. 2. ms. -हठाद्. 3. ms. -त्रय. 3a. ms. स्वराजा मित्रराजा. 4. ms. -मेतं. 5. This couplet is from Ś. 6. ms. राजा for यदि. 7. ms. गछति. 8. ms. बलौकेन तु. 9. ms. -रङ्गस्य.

[1]कारयेद् वकडां पार्थ बिन्धनं नैव छेदयेत् ।
राज्ञस्तु बिन्धने पार्थ नृपाकृष्टं न कारयेत् ॥ ५६ ॥

इति वचनात् चेत् गजस्याश्वस्य वा बिन्धने सति वकडा समुत्थिता । अत्र [एक-] काले एकबलेन द्वयं [चेत्] प्राप्यते बिन्धनं छेदनं कर्त्तुं शक्यते एवं वकडां कर्त्तुं शक्यते तदा वकडा कार्या न तु बिन्धनच्छेदनम् ।* किन्तु राज्ञो बिन्धने बिन्धनं छेद्यम्[2] अन्यथा राज्ञि हते नृपाकृष्टभङ्गः अधर्मलाभः केवलम् । अत एव व्यासः—

उठाकाले तु राजेन्द्र वकडा चेत् समुत्थिता ॥ ५७ ॥

मालिकायां निषेधः—

राजद्वये स्थिते हस्ते मित्रेण हन्यते यदा ।
स्वराजः[3] खल्विति प्राह मीनमारश्च पाण्डव[4] ।
वकडावकडीत्युक्ते चात्र नेतुं न शक्यते ॥ ५८ ॥

'खलु' निश्चितं राजद्वये[5] हस्ते सति स्वराजः[6] प्रवेशभङ्गार्थं मित्रेण घातयित्वा यदि तस्मै दीयते तदा पुनरस्य राजानं नेतुं न शक्यते ।* मीनमारत्वादिति बोद्धव्यम्[7] । मीनमार-शब्दो ग्राम्यभाषायामदन्तः[8] । चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्येवम् ।

कोणं [9]राजपदं त्यक्त्वा वटिकान्तं यदा व्रजेत् ।
[10]वटी षष्ठपदं नाम तदा कोष्ठबलं नयेत् ॥ ५९ ॥

षट्पदाख्यमेतत् । कोष्ठबलं कोष्ठस्थितबलम् ।

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1. ms. कारयेद्व कडां. 2. ms. छेद्यं. 3. ms. स्वराजा. 4. ms. माण्डव. 5. ms. ०द्वय. 6. ms. स्वराजा. 7. ms. -व्यं. 8. ms. -भाषामदन्तः. 9. ms. राजापदं. 10. Ś षष्ठी नयेत् पदं नाम तदा कोष्ठबलं च तत् ।

निषेधमाह यमः—

अपात्रस्थां हि वटिकां प्रवेशे नैव घातयेत्।
पात्रस्था चेद् भवेद्राजन् [1]यत्नात्तां घातयेत् सुधीः ॥ ६० ॥
घाते सति विपक्षस्य सा प्रवेशं न चार्हति।
[... ... ...]
[2]विजानीयाद्गतायु[*5b*]ष्कमिति [3]गौतमभाषितम् ॥ ६१ ॥

इति वचनात् अपात्रस्था वटिका प्रवेशं नार्हति। पात्रस्था चेत्तदाघाते [ग]तायुष्कं[4] कुर्यात्।

प्रतिप्रसवमाह गौतमः—

पदातेः षट्पदे विद्धे राज्ञा वा हस्तिना तथा।
षट्पदं न भवेत्तस्य चावश्यं शृणु पार्थिव ॥ ६२ ॥

इति।

यमः—

सप्तमे कोष्ठके या स्याद् वटिका दशकेन वै।
तदाऽन्योन्यश्च हन्तव्यं सुखाय दुर्बलं बलम्[5] ॥ ६३ ॥

इति [6]वचनात् दशकेन दानेन या वटिका सप्तमे कोष्ठे भवति सा प्रवेशं नार्हतीत्यर्थः। प्रवेशे[7]ऽन्यहननं नास्तीति भावः।

त्रिवटीकस्य कौन्तेय पुरुषस्य कदाचन।
षट्पदं न भवत्येव इति गौतमभाषितम् ॥ ६४ ॥

प्रतिप्रसवमाह ऋष्यशृङ्गः—

नौकैका वटिका यस्य विद्यते खेलने यदि।

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1. ms. यत्नोत्तां. 2. ms. विजानीयाद्गतामूक-. 3. ms. गौत्रम-. 4. ms. तामूकं. 5. ms. बलं. 6. ms. वचनोक्ते. 7. ms. हन्य हननं.

गाढावटीति विख्याता पदं तस्य न दुष्यति ।

[1][गाढाघात्यं पदं राजपदं कोणपदश्च तत्] ॥ ६५ ॥

'पदं राजपदं कोणपदश्च' एतेन राजकोष्ठस्था कोणस्था च वटिका प्रवेशमर्हतीत्यर्थः ।

यदि तस्य [2]भवेद्राजंश्चतूराजी च षट्पदम् ।

[3]चतूराजी भवत्येव न तु षष्ठपदं नृप ॥६६॥

इति । तस्य [4]षट्पदस्येत्यर्थः । चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्येवम् ।

[5][प्रार्थिते पञ्चमे राज्ञि मृतवत्याश्च षट्पदे ।

अशौचं स्यात्तदा राजंश्चलित्वा चालितं पदम्] ॥ ६७ ॥

हस्ते रङ्गे बलं नास्ति काककाष्ठं तदा भवेत् ।

वदन्ति राक्षसाः सर्वे तस्य न स्तो जयाजयौ ॥ ६८ ॥

इति व्यासः । काककाष्ठे सति तस्य स्नानं विधीयते ।

अगस्त्यः—

काककाष्ठे पुनर्जाते स्नानं कुर्यान्नराधिप ॥ ६९ ॥

वंशाभावाद् [6]गर्हणीयः । अतः स्नानं विधीयते । त्रिः स्नानं विधेयम् । [7]तत्तु पापहृत् । भारतेऽस्य वचनं व्यासेनोदितम् ।

पार्थ [8]सिंहासनकाले काककाष्ठं यदा भवेत् ।

सिंहासनं भवत्येव काककाष्ठं न भण्यते ॥ ७० ॥

इत्यगस्त्यवचनात् । [*6a*]प्रवेशकाले चेत् काककाष्ठं भवति तदा

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1. Ś adds this and reads -घात्यापदं. 2. Ś. भवेत् पार्थ, ms. राजन् चतू०. 3. Ś तदापि च चतूराजी भवत्येव न संशयः. 4. ms. षट्पदेरित्यर्थः. 5. This couplet occurs in Ś. 6. ms. गर्हणीयाऽतः. 7. ms. स तु. 8. ms. सिंहासने.

सिंहासनं कर्त्तव्यं न तु काककाष्ठं कर्त्तव्यम्[1]। चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्येवम्।

उपविष्टन्तु[2] यत् स्थानं तस्योपरि चतुष्टये।
नौकाचतुष्टयं[3] यत्र क्रियते यस्य नौकया।
नौकाचतुष्टयं तस्य बृहन्नौकेति भण्यते ॥ ७१ ॥

इति व्यासवचनात् यस्य नौकया बृहन्नौका क्रियते तस्य [3a]नौकाचतुष्टयमेव। वस्तुतस्तु एवं न हि।

नोकाचतुष्टयं तत्र नेतुं[4] येन हि शक्यते।
हठादिति विजानीयात्तस्य नौका इति श्रुतिः ॥ ७० ॥

इति श्रुतेर्वचनाद्धठाद् येन नेतुं शक्यते तस्य नौका। एतत् पुनरनित्यं कर्त्तुरिच्छया[5]।

नौकात्रयं यदा हस्ते अन्यन्नीतश्च शत्रुणा।
नौकाकृष्टमिदं प्रोक्तं हठान्नौकान्ततो नयेत् ॥ ७१ ॥

यमस्तु—

नौकाद्वयं यदा हस्ते रङ्गे तिष्ठति चेन्निजम्[6]।
परेणापकृताश्चैकां नकडीश्चानयेद्वदेत् (?) ॥ ७२ ॥

अत्रापि मीनमारो दृश्यते। चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्येवम्।*

पितामहः—

बलेनैकेन [7]हि राजन् घातद्वन्द्वं प्रवर्त्तते।
[8]आत्मनश्च बलस्यैवाघलघातः प्रकीर्त्तितः ॥ ७३ ॥

1. ms. कर्त्तव्यं. 2. Ś. ०ष्टश्च. 3. ms. -त[×]यं. 3a., ms. चतुष्टयं नौकेव. 4. ms. नोतुं. 5. ms. -रिछया. 6. ms. चेन्निजा. 7. ms. महाराज. 8. ms. आत्मनश्च बलश्चैवा.

यमस्तु—

एकेन द्वौ बलौ विद्धावघलघातः प्रकीर्त्तितः ।
चिन्तयित्वा च राजेन्दो खेलयेत्तत्र वै बलम् ॥ ७४ ॥

[............] इत्यगस्त्यवचनं सुधीभिर्भाव्यम्[1] इति वचनेन विपक्षस्य एकबलेन एककाले आत्मनो बलयोर्घातद्वये सति अघलघातः कथ्यते। अत्र यत् खेलनं [2]तत् सुधीभिर्भाव्यम्। मैथिला अप्येवम्।

मालिकायाम्—

प्रवेशं कर्त्तुमिच्छन्तं[3] राजानं छेदयेद्बुधः ।
प्रवेशे च कृते राज्ञा[4] वध्यो यत्नेन सर्वतः ॥ ७५ ॥

इति व्यासवचनात् सर्वतः सर्वबलैर्मित्रपक्ष[*6b*]स्य [5]बलान्यपि हन्तव्यानि। व्यवहारात् [6]प्रविष्टस्य राज्ञः मित्रबलं विपक्षेण चालयेत् ढालयेच्च।

व्यासः—

संप्रविष्टं च कौन्तेय मैत्रेयं यदरेर्बलम् ।
घातयेन्नैव तद्धर्मी चालयेत् स्वमिवाऽऽर्यधीः ।
घातयेद् यश्च दुर्बुद्धिरपेयम् उदकं ततः ॥ ७६ ॥

इति वचनात् शत्रुराजे[7] संप्रविष्टे सति [8]अरेर्मैत्रेयबलं नैव घातयेत्। विपक्षस्य बलं स्वमिव चालयेत्।* तद्बलश्चेदा-घाताय तदा [9]तत् त्याज्यम्। एवं चतूराजी-कालेषु ज्ञेयम्। सिंहासन[10]-चतूराजीभङ्गेऽशौचम्[11]।

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1. ms. -भाव्यं. 2. ms. तद्धधीभि-. 3. ms. -मिछन्तं. 4. ms. राज्ञि. 5. ms. बलादपि हन्तव्यः. 6. पविष्टस्य. 7. ms. -राजा. 8. ms. अरेस्यैत्रयबलं. 9. ms. स त्याज्यः. 10. ms. -सनं. 11. ms. शौच.

महामनुः—

[1]प्रोत्थिते पञ्चमे राज्ञि मृते [2]वट्यान्तु षट्पदे ।
अशौचं स्यात्तदा [3]राजञ् चलित्वा चालितं बलम् ।
द्विरावृत्ते[4] गतौ तस्माद्धन्यात् परबलं जयी ॥ ७७ ॥

'प्रोत्थिते[5]' राज्ञि प्रविष्टे राज्ञीत्यर्थः ।

सिंहासनं प्रवेशश्च पञ्चमं भण्यते बुधैः ।
चतूराजी स्वप[द]स्था[6] चतूराजी तु कथ्यते ॥ ७८ ॥

इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनाद् ज्ञेयम् ।

प्रवेशे च मृते राज्ञि शृणु राजेन्द्र यत् फलम् ।
तावद् भवति चाशौचं यावन्नैव बलं चलेत् ॥ ७९ ॥

प्रवेशकाले यदि प्रवेशभङ्गो भवति तदाऽशौचं स्यात्, चलिते बले सति अशौचान्तो भवति ।

यामले—

प्रवेशमिच्छुना[7] राज्ञा[8] प्रवेशः कार्य एव च ।
[9]पलायेन्नैव राजेन्द्र इति गर्गस्य भाषितम् ॥ ८० ॥

महाभारते च [10]गद्यम्—प्रवेशमिच्छुना[7] राज्ञा[8] प्रवेशः कार्य एव, न तु पलायेतेति[11] । पलायिते प्रवेशभङ्गजः[12] दोषः । मै[थि]लास्तु पलायन्ते ।* तत्तेषां स्खलनम् । चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्येवम् ।*

सिंहासनं चतूराजी [13]यदाऽवस्थानतो भवेत् ।
[14]सर्वसैन्यैर्गजैर्वाऽपि रक्षितव्यो महीपतिः ॥ ८१ ॥

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1. Ś. प्रार्थिते. 2. Ś. वट्याश्च. 3. ms. हस्ति for राजञ् (Ś). 4. Ś. -वृत्त्या. 5. ms. पञ्चमे. 6. ms. -स्थं चतुराधीस्तु. 7. ms. -मिछु. 8. ms. राजा. 9. ms. पालयन्नैव. 10. ms. गद्य. 11. ms. पलायेत् only. 12. ms. -ङ्गजं दोषं. 13. ms. यदव-. 14. ms. -सैन्यगजै-.

वाऽवधारणे। इति व्यासवचनात् सिंहासनकाले एवञ्चतूराजीकाले च [1]'सर्वसैन्यैर्गजैरपि नृपो रक्षणीयः। चतुरङ्गपद्धतौ तु 'रक्षित[7a]व्यो महीपती'। [2]तन्मिश्रस्य स्खलनमिति गुरुचरणाः। वस्तुतस्तु तन्नयेन [येन] चतूराजी क्रियते तस्य नृपरक्षणं कर्त्तव्यम्। अन्यथा स्वयश्चेत् [स्व]स्थाने सति घाते राजानं चालयेत् स पापग्रस्तो भवति।

पितामहमनुः—

[3]सिंहासने चतूराजौ काककाष्ठे नृपोत्तम।
घाते बलं न हन्तव्यं राज्ञः खलु मयेरितम्॥ ८२॥

अर्थात्तेन राज्ञा न हन्तव्यमित्यर्थः। यद् वा [4]'सर्वसैन्यैर्गजैर्वाऽपि रक्षितव्यो महीपतिः' [तत्] तेषां मते गजैर्गजलयकरणैर्विपक्षस्य राजा रक्षणीयः। [न] तन्नयतः, येन राज्ञा चतूराजी क्रियते तस्य भङ्गे महद्दोषत्वात्।

भारते—

घाते च शृणु राजेन्द्रो राजानश्चालयेन्न च।
विदध्याद् यश्च पापात्मा तस्य का [नु] विनिर्दिशेत्।
सत्यं सत्यं पुनः सत्यमिदं [5]व्याससमीरणम्॥ ८३॥

सिंहासनभङ्गे एवं चतूराजीभङ्गे [6]महद्दोषत्वात्। चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्येवम्।

तथा च व्यासः—

बलेनैकेन कौन्तेय राज्ञश्च करिणस्तथा।
छिन्ने तु बिन्धने [7]धीमाञ् छेदयेद् गजबिन्धनम्॥ ८४॥

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1. ms. -सैन्यगजै-. 2. ms. तत्. 3. ms. -सिंहासनश्चतुराजी. 4. ms. -सैन्यगजै-. 5. ms. व्यालस-. 6. ms. महद्धोष-. 7. ms. धीमान.

[1]राज्ञः करिणश्च बिन्धने यदा एकबलेन छेत्तुं शक्यते तदा गजबिन्धनं छेदयेत्। महाबलत्वात्। मैथिला एवं कुर्वन्ति।* तदव्यवस्था इति गुरुचरणाः। छिन्ने सतीत्यवधेयम्।

[1a]स्थानाभावो यदा पार्थ हस्तिनं हस्तिसम्मुखम्।
करिष्यति तदा राजन्निति [2]गौतमभाषितम्॥ ८५॥

अपिच—

प्रवेशे यदि राज्ञश्च करिणोर्बिन्धनं भवेत्।
तदा धेढिं विदध्यात्तु गौतमेन हि भाषितम्॥ ८६॥

प्रवेशकाले चेत् प्रवेशकर्तृ राज्ञः गजयोर्बिन्धनं स्यात्तदा [3]धेढिः देया प्रवेशभङ्गार्थम् इति [2]गौतमजल्पनम्।* एतन्मतं व्यासादीनां न, एवम् अस्माकमपि मैथिलानामपि मिश्रस्य चतुरङ्ग-पद्धतावपि नैव, अत एव तस्य मुनेर्महत्त्वम्। एवं[*7b*]चतूराजी-कालेऽपि इति गुरुचरणाः। वस्तुतस्तु प्रमाणद्वयं वर्त्तते। [4]अत्र खेलने [ये]षां यद्रोचते तत् कार्यम्।

[5]जावालोऽपि—

एकदैव हि कौन्तेय गजस्याभिमुखं गजम्।
न कार्यन्तु चतूराजी (?) प्रवेशे कारयेत् सुधीः॥ ८७॥

प्रवेशे चतूराजीभङ्गार्थम्।

घातयेत् तत्र यत्रैव बलं प्राप्नोति पाण्डव[6]।
संप्राप्ते तु गजद्वन्द्वे हन्तव्यो वामतो गजः॥ ८८॥

इति [5]जावालवचनात् यत्र बलं प्राप्नोति तत्रैव तु [ह]न्तव्यः।

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1. ms. puts this sentence before तथा च व्यासः above (83.3). 1a. ms. -भावे. 2. ms. गोतम-. 3. ms. धेप्ति. 4. अत्र यत् खेलनं तत्तेषां यद्रोचते. 5. ms. यावा-. 6. ms. मानव.

किन्तु गजद्वये प्राप्ते वामतो गज एव हन्तव्यः। एवं चतुरङ्ग-पद्धतावपि ।*

[1]राजैको घातितः शत्रोरात्मनो राज्ञि संस्थिते।
हत्वा मित्रस्य राजानं वकडाश्चाऽऽनयेत् सुधीः ॥ ८९ ॥

इति [2]जावालवचनाद् बोध्यम्।

यमः—

[1]राजैको घातितः शत्रोर्मैत्रेयो[3] वाऽपि [4]शात्रवः।
नृपाकृष्टाय राजानं घाते सति न घातयेत् ॥ ९० ॥

इति।* व्यासेन कथितम् 'आत्मनो राज्ञि संस्थिते' इति वचनाच् शत्रो [1]राजैको घातितः आत्मनो राज्ञि संस्थिते सति नृपाकृष्टाय मित्रस्य राजानम् अथवा विपक्षस्य राजानं घाते सति न घातयेत्। मिश्रोऽप्येवम्।

याज्ञवल्क्यः—

नृपाकृष्टस्य भङ्गाय तूठा चैव यदैकदा।
कार्यं तु [5]भञ्जनं राजन् नृपाकृष्टस्य धीमतः।
अत्र काले उठा कार्या न तु राजन् युधिष्ठिर ॥ ९१ ॥

इति वचनाद् यदा एकदा नृपाकृष्टस्य [5]भञ्जने एव उठा भवति तदा नृपाकृष्टस्य भञ्जनं कार्यम्। चतुरङ्गपद्धतौ तु नीयते यस्मात् तत्(?)। मिश्रोऽप्येवम्।

बिन्धने सति ज्येष्ठानां बलानां प्राप्यते बलम्।
घातेऽपि बिन्धनं छेद्यं बलं नैव तु घातयेत् ॥ ९२ ॥

इति व्यासवचनात् ज्येष्ठानामित्युपलक्षणम्।* राज्ञः गजस्य वा बिन्धनं छेद्यं न तु बलं घातयेत्। एतत्तु प्रवेशे चतूराजीपरम्।

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1. ms. राजैकं घातितं. 2. ms. यावालवचनात् बोद्धव्यं. 3. ms. -मैत्रेयं. 4. ms. शात्रवं. 5. ms. भङ्ग- for भञ्ज.

तावत्तु खेलयेद्राजन्नुठान्तं नैव ढालयेत् ।
संप्राप्ते [1]बहु[8a]ले चैव उठां कुर्यान्न ढालयेत् ॥ ६३ ॥

इति वच(न)ात् उठाम् एव कुर्यान् न तु खेलनम् । एतत्तु प्रवेशे चतूराजीकाले इतरत्र[ऽपि] ज्ञेयम् ।* [1a][अन्य]त्र त्वनियमः । उठाशब्दो ग्राम्यभाषा ।* चतुरङ्गपद्धतावप्येवम् ।

[2]जावालः—

उठैकेन हि कर्त्तव्ये द्वितीयं दानमारभेत् ।
दत्त्वा त्वेकं हि चान्यत्र हन्यादेकेन तद्बलम् ॥ ६४ ॥
उठाश्चेत् कारयित्वा तु [2a]चान्यद्दानन्तु खेलयेत् ।
तदा थोकं विजानीयादिति ग्रन्थविदो विदुः ॥ ६५ ॥

'जगुरि'ति च [पाठः] ।

थोके च पतिते राजन् बलं तस्मै प्रदापयेत् ।
तथैवोठेति नोक्ते च ज्ञेयं राजन् युधिष्ठिर[3] ॥ ६६ ॥

इति व्यासवचनात् एकदानस्य घाते दानद्वयपतिते एकमन्यत्र दत्त्वा [4]एकेनोठां कुर्यात् । आदौ उठां कृत्वा अन्यदानञ्च खेलयेत् ।* तदा थोकं भवति ।* तद्बलं तस्मै देयम् ।

यमस्तु, उठां कृत्वा उठा इति नोक्ते सति थोकं भवति च । मिश्रोऽप्येवम् ।

उठाया हि बलद्वन्द्वं दानद्वन्द्वे च चेत् पतेत् ।
हन्तव्यं तत् प्रयत्नेन उठा शेषेण सिध्यति ।
पूर्वेण सद्बलञ्छेत्तुं सूतके सूतकं तथा ॥ ६७ ॥

इति वच[ना]द् [5]बोध्यम् । यदाऽशौचेऽशौचं[6] भवति [7]पूर्वा-

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1. ms. बहुलो. 1a. ms. तत्र for अन्यत्र. 2. ms यावालः. 2a. ms -चान्यद्मान-. 3. ms. ष्ठिरः. 4. ms. एकेठेनोठां. 5. ms. बोद्धव्य'. 6. ms. -शोचं. 7. ms. -शौचश्चेद्-.

शौचश्चेद् गुरु तदा पूर्वाशौचेन शुध्यति। तद्वच्च चेत् पूर्वे सद्बलं तिष्ठति तदा पूर्वबलेनोठा कार्या, किन्तु मालिकायां [1]व्यासस्य गद्यम्—संप्रविष्टे राज्ञि प्रवेशस्य कोष्ठे उठाबलं तिष्ठति [चेत्] तदा तद्बलं हन्तव्यं नैव।* अन्यच्चेत् वर्त्तते तदा हन्तव्यम्। 'अन्यद्बलम्' उठाया इत्यर्थः।

यमः—

सिंहासनस्य कोष्ठे तु उठाया [1a]अस्ति चेद्बलम्।
हनने तस्य राजेन्द्र प्रवेशं नार्हति ध्रुवम्॥ ९८॥

इति वचनात् तद्बलं नैव हन्तव्यम्।

अन्यच्चेद्वर्त्तते राजन् हन्तव्यं तद्बलं ततः॥ ९९॥

इात बोद्धव्यम्।

दशदण्डात् परं राजन् क्रीडां कुर्याद्विचक्षणः।
[2]देवाख्यदाननाम्ना वा पाशां[*8b*] धृत्वा च ढालयेत्॥१००॥

तेन जय रघुनाथ जय बलराम इति वा दशविंत्ति(?) वा पञ्च चौपञ्च विद्वद्ढह(?) चाविदोहा(?) चाविद्ध (?) तिया पँाचतिसाता इत्यादि। [वक्तव्यम्]।* एतत्तु ग्राम्यभाषा।

क्रीडाभङ्गे तु राजेन्दो कुर्याद्बलसमुच्चयम्।
पातयित्वात्मनः सैन्यमवशिष्टं [3]जयस्ततः॥ १०१॥

इति वचनाद् आत्मनो बलानि पातयित्वा यदवशिष्टं तद् गणयेत्तज्जयः[4]। पँाचा चौका[तिया] दुया एवं क्रमेण पाशां छकेत्। बालबोधार्थं मया एतादृक् स्पष्टीकृतम्। अत एव हे धीरा मे स्मितं मा कार्यम्। अस्यां क्रीडायाम् [5]अन्याऽव्यवस्था

1. ms. व्यासः. 1a. ms. अति-. 2. ms. देवाख्य'. 3. ms. जय' ततः. 4. ms. -जय'. 5. ms. अन्यद्व्य०.

चेज्जायते तदा सुधीभिः [1]संभाव्य सुव्यवस्था देया। मुनिप्रणीतौ विधिनिषेधौ संदूष्याऽ[न्या] सुधीभिर्व्यवस्था कार्या। चतुरङ्ग-पद्धतावप्येवम्।

व्यासः—

यस्त्विमां खेलयेन्नित्यं क्रीडामेवं क्रमेण तु।
न तस्य जायते शत्रोर्भयं दुःखश्च भूमिप ॥ १०२ ॥
ये नराश्च प्रशंसन्ते क्रीडाश्चेमां युधिष्ठिर।
खेलयित्वा च लभते वाजिमेधायुतं फलम् ॥ १०३ ॥
इन्द्रेण क्रीडितं पूर्वं ततः प्राप्तं महद् यशः।
ततः कौन्तेय तां क्रीडां खेलयेत् [2]सुमनाः सुधीः ॥ १०४ ॥
क्रीडामिमां व्यासमुखादुदीरितां योऽप्यन्यथा मूढजनः करोति।
[3]नूनं स रोगं धनधान्यशौन्यं प्राप्नोति कृच्छ्रं वधबन्धनश्च ॥१०५

इति वचनाद् यो जन इमां क्रीडामन्यथा करोति, न मन्यते, तस्य एतानि भवन्त्येव।

अस्याः प्रसादाद्राजेन्द्र दधीचिः प्राप्तवान् जयम्।
खेलयित्वा त्विमां लक्ष्मीं पुत्रपौत्रीणतां नय ॥ १०६ ॥

अस्याः क्रीडाया इत्यर्थः।

यमस्तु—

कुर्वन्ति च ये मनुजा इमां क्रीडां युधिष्ठिर।
गृहे तिष्ठति यस्यैषा तस्य श्रीः सर्वतोमुखी ॥ १०७ ॥

इति महोमहोपाध्याय-शूलपाणि-विरचिता चतुरङ्गदीपिका समाप्ता।
चन्द्रखाश्वाश्विनीमाने शाके कोऽपि हरिं नमन्।
विप्रोऽलिखदिदं पुस्तं समये कर्कटार्कके ॥

1. ms. सम्भाव्य. 2. ms. सुमनः. 3. ms. न्यूनं.

TRANSLATION

ŚŪLAPĀṆI'S

CATURAṄGADĪPIKĀ

Om. Salutation to Gaṇeśa.

> 1. Bowing to Hari's feet which are like lotuses surrounded by humming bees Śūlapāṇi composes this manual (*dīpikā*) of Caturaṅga (the game of four-handed dice-chess).

By the tradition carried through Janamejaya, Sūta, Pakṣin (or 'the Bird'), Nārada and Yudhiṣṭhira, the game of Caturaṅga has come into vogue in this world. Janamejaya enquired about this of Sūta and the latter communicated to him what he heard from Vyāsa. In the days of yore the son of an ascetic (*muni*) being under a curse was born as a bird (*pakṣin*). This bird or Pakṣin described the game to Indra; and Nārada saw the latter playing the game and described it to Yudhiṣṭhira. Afterwards Yudhiṣṭhira questioned Vyāsa about the game. Now listen to what the latter sage (Vyāsa) said.

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1. The Caturaṅga through Middle Persian *Catrang* Modern Persian *Śatranj*, is the ancestor of the modern game of chess. For details see the Introduction.

Dipikā (lit. a small lamp) means a 'guide', 'manual', or 'Leitfaden'.

For details of Śūlapāṇi's life and time see the Introduction. The mythical story given here about the origin of the game occurs, as far as we know, in none of the extant Purāṇas and Epics. The game of Caturaṅga as it is to be played for stake can be called a *dyūta* (see 43, 47 and 50 etc.). And it has been so styled in Vaṃśamaṇi's Caturaṅga-taraṅgiṇī (see H. P. Shastri, A Catalogue of the Palmleaf & Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal, Cal. 1905. Vol. I. p. 168).

Janamejaya said :

2. "O gracious sage, tell me in detail about the deed by which Yudhisthira attained prosperity."

The fact that Yudhisthira of the Mahābhārata played *dyūta* with his enemies the Kurus seems to point to the genuineness of the story which connects this epic hero with the early history of the game. The question of the relation between the Caturaṅga and the *akṣa-dyūta* has been discussed in the Introduction. The CT. too connects Yudhisthira as well as Indra, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Vyāsa (or Veda-Vyāsa) with the Caturaṅga in the following passage :

यत्र रज्यन्ति राजानो धर्मजप्रमुखाः स्म वै ।
तथासुमनसामीशो माधवोमाधवादयः ॥
इत्यैतिह्यस्य प्रस्तावे व्यासेनावेदितं पुरा ।
शङ्करस्य पुरा दूतं ससर्ज सुमनोहरम् ॥

"In which (game) kings like Yudhisthira (lit. born of Dharma) took delight and likewise did Indra (lit. king of the gods), Viṣṇu (Mādhava) and Śiva (lit. the lord of Umā). All this has been reported by Vyāsa in his *Itihāsa* (i.e., the Mahābhārata)". The CT. further writes as follows :

धर्मपुत्राय धौम्येन सौम्येन परमर्षिणा ।
वनवासे पुरा प्रोक्ता क्रीडा या चतुरङ्गकी ॥

"In the days of yore, the game which is named Caturaṅgakī, has been described by the calm sage Dhaumya to Yudhisthira during his exile". The story of Śiva's connection with the origin of the Caturaṅga has been drawn from the Skanda Purāṇa. It is said there that on the first day of the bright half (*śukla-pakṣa*) of the month of Kārtika Maheśvara (=Śiva) played the game (*dyūta*) and since then this game was current in this world (see S. Vidyalankar, Jīvanī-koṣa, p. 1695). Names of Indra, Viṣṇu, Vyāsa in connexion with the game do not seem to occur in any of the extant Purāṇas or Epics.

2. One knowing the story of the Mahābhārata will not perhaps agree with our author who ascribes Yudhisthira's ultimate prosperity to *dyūta*. But gambling with all its faults may be said to develop in the players a power of standing the freaks of fortune with a calm spirit—a virtue which should be considered very valuable for a man bent on adventure for the sake of prosperity.

Sūta said :—

3. "O the best among men, once a bird (*pakṣin*) came to Indra's court in heaven and accosted the lord of gods thus :

4. 'O magnanimous Indra, the best (lit. tiger) among the gods, play the game that I am going to describe' ; (for) listen, O the best among men, it gives everything that one may desire.

5. O the best among men, Nārada the celestial sage listened to the words of the bird very carefully and repeated them to Yudhiṣṭhira.

6. Glad to hear this Yudhiṣṭhira at once invited the sages like Vyāsa and others to play the game with him. (And after he had come) the king said to Vyāsa the great sage (as follows) :"

Yudhiṣṭhira said :

7. "O the sage, describe to me the game which is played on a board with (groups of) eight squares and tell me in details how the Catūrāji occurs."

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4. *Sarva-kāma-phala-pradā* 'fulfilling all sorts of desires.' This is only a figurative way of saying that the game is very fascinating.

7. *Aṣṭa-koṣṭhā* does not directly mean a square board with 64 small squares. The CT. which is more explicit on this point describes the game board as follows :

तिर्यगूर्ध्वं क्रमेण वै नवरेखान् समाविशेत् ।
एवं त्वन्त:स्वस्तिकटं क्रीडाचक्रं प्रजायते ॥

"(Two sets of) nine (straight) lines are to be drawn, (one) vertically and (the other) horizontally. And thus will come into being a game board within which will be many *svastikas* (crosses)". See *Diagram* 1.

It is due to the number of squares being multiples of eight (*aṣṭa*) that the game board was called an *aṣṭāpada* as in the R ā m ā y a ṇ a etc.

Vyāsa said :

8. "Drawing eight squares (on each side), place the pieces (*balas*) from the right. Put the red pieces in the east, the green ones in the south, yellow ones in the west and the black ones in the north.

9. And put the elephant on the left of the king and then the horse and then the boat, and while fighting, O the son of Kunti, put four pawns in front (of them all)."

(This is according to Vyāsa). And Yama also (says) :

10. "The boat should be placed in the

Catūrāji, 'an aggregate of four kings'. This is an example of the Dvigu (Numerical Determinative) compound of the Skt. grammarians. The *u* of *catur* has been lengthened according to P ā ṇ i n i, 8. 3. 14 and 6. 3. 11. For the final ī see V ā r t t i k a on Pāṇini, 2. 4. 14.

8-9. East, South, West and North mentioned in the text are probably to be taken in their literal sense. For the Caturaṅga being a ritual game the tradition seems to have fixed which positions different players were to occupy. We do not know whether the four colours, red, green, yellow and black have any symbolic meaning in connexion with different directions. The CT. is silent on this point. It seems that the M i t h i l ā s c h o o l observed no rule in this matter.

The regular four members of the ancient Indian army were elephant (*hastin*), horse (*aśva*), chariot (*ratha*) and foot soldier (*padāti*). In this game the boat (*naukā*) has been taken in the place of the chariot. We do not know whether this game was invented in a locality like Bengal where boats were extensively used in military operations as early as the Gupta times. K ā l i d ā s a' s description of the inhabitants of Bengal as *nausādhanodyata* 'ready with their nautical armament' (Raghu. 4. 36) must have been based on facts. But we should not dogmatize on the point. There is likelihood of the Caturaṅga being invented in other parts of Northern India as well, and the boat might have taken place of the chariot after the game was introduced in Bengal. For details about the place of origin of the game see the Introduction.

corner, the horse in the second place, the elephant in the third and the king in the fourth ; and pawns are to be placed in front of (these four ."

The pieces should be placed (in the game board) according to this rule.

11. "The king and the pawn move by a throw of five, the elephant by (that of) four, the horse by (that of) three and the boat by (that of) two."

The pieces should be moved according to the above rule. The passage is also read with *trikeṇa* for *tṛtīye*.

10. About the position of pieces in the game board Al-Beruni who has written about a kind of Caturaṅga, is silent. It seems that they were similar to that given in the present work. The CT. also prescribes the similar positions for the pieces. Its description given there in a different language is as follows :

तुर्यकोष्ठं समारभ्य वामकोणगृहावधि ।
आदौ राजा ततो दन्ती वाजी नौका ततः परम् ।
क्रमात् क्रमान्निधातव्यस्तेषामग्रे पदातयः ॥

"From (after) the fourth square from the left corner, pieces are to be placed in the following order : king, elephant, horse, and boat, and in front of them all are to be placed foot soldiers." See *Diagram* 1.

From the above description we can have a clearer idea of the subject and can learn that parties arrange their pieces to the left half of the two rows of squares immediately in their front. On this point the CD. is silent. Murray (p. 27) mentions that there are descriptions of Indian chess in which elephant and boat have changed places ; we do not know where such a case occurs. Peahaps it does not occur in the game of Caturaṅga.

11. The CD. is silent on another point and a very important one. We do not know from it how many dice are required for the game. But it mentions the marks that dice have on them as follows : पाँचा चौका [तिया] दुया एवं क्रमेण पाशां क्कैत्. "The dice are to be marked with five, four, [three] and two." This passage belongs in all likelihood to a later writer (see the Introduction). The CT. gives on this point a definite information as follows ;

The *Caturaṅga-paddhati* too (says) :

12. "O king, the pawn moves by a throw of five and the king too moves similarly, and by (a throw of) four the elephant moves and by (a throw of) three the horse and by (a throw of) two the boat."

पाशकौ द्वौ विधातव्यौ मायुचिह्नसमन्वितौ
द्विकं त्रिकं चतुष्कं च पञ्चकञ्चेतिचिह्नकम् ।
दशद(धा)यंभिवर्तते चतुर्णां योजने मिथः ॥
द्विद्विकं द्वित्रिकं चैव द्विचतुष्कं द्विपञ्चकम् ।
त्रित्रिकं त्रिचतुष्कञ्च त्रिपञ्चकमुदाहृतम् ॥
चतुश्चतुष्कं चतुःपञ्चकं पञ्चपञ्चकम्(?) ।

"Two dice should be made and they should contain the marks of the sun. On one side of them should be a pair of them and on another three and on the third side four and on the fourth five. From a combination of these four there will arise ten sets. 2+2, 2+3, 2+4, 2+5 ; 3+3, 3+4, 3+5 ; 4+4, 4+5 ; 5+5".

Al-Beruni too mentions two dice but the figures on the dice according to him are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 (ed. Trübner 1910, p. 184). But of these six figures *one* and *six* are blank (i. e., do not count as such). In case the dice show *one* the player takes *one*, and instead of *six* he takes *four* (*ibid*). From this variation of the Al-Beruni's game we may assume that it was the Caturaṅga of a different school.

But whatever may be the significance of the variation in marks on the dice we have no means of exactly knowing how the possible throws were utilized by the players. But it seems that more than one piece and most probably two pieces could be moved after a particular throw, though the player might have the option of moving only one piece instead of two (see 25 and Notes on it).

The value of throws required for moving the different pieces are except on one point similar to that described by Al-Beruni (p. 184). For, according to him *one* instead of *five* moves the pawn or the king. But a little earlier he says "of the numbers of the dice five and six are blank (i. e., do not count as such)." In that case if the dice show *five* or *six* the player takes *one* instead of the *five* and *four* instead of the *six* (*ibid*). Thus it seems that the *five* of the CD. was equivalent to the *one* of Al-Beruni's game, but the CD. ignores *six* and so does CT. (see Notes on 11).

13. "The king can move to the next square (lit. passing one square) in every direction. The pawn moves (to the square) in its front but it can capture a piece placed in (squares next to) its front corners."

14. "The elephant, O king, can move at its will (to the next square) in four cardinal directions. [The horse (*turaṃgagama*) moves sideways (to the next square) after crossing three squares] ; the boat moves aslant two squares at a time, O Yudhiṣṭhira."

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13. Al-Beruni describes in detail the movement of the elephant, which, however, is not clear (see the Introduction). The movements of other pieces were similar to that of similar pieces in the Caturaṅga (or four-handed dice-chess) described in our work (Murray, pp. 57-58). See *Diagrams* 3, 8, 9, 11 and 12.

14. According to Al Beruni "they move the elephant straight on and not to the other sides one square at a time like the pawn and to the four corners also one square at a time, like the queen (*firzan*). They say that there five squares......are the places occupied by the trunk and the four feet of the elephant" (p. 183). See *Diagram* 4. But according to the CD., the elephant can move to any of the four squares at its front back, right and left. In the interpretation of this passage occurring in the T i t h i t a t t v a Murray has been misled by his predecessors, for *diś* in *caturdikṣu* means only the four cardinal points of the compass. The movement of the elephant as given in the CD. exactly tallies with that given by the Arabian A l-A d l i (840 A. C.) in his writing of the Hindu Chess (Murray, p. 59). The CT., however, records a different movement for the elephant and it is as follows :

गृहमेकं··· ... ...

गजस्तु सर्वतो याति यावदिच्छं सवक्रकम् ॥

"The elephant moves, one square at a time, to any square (lit. anywhere) straight or cornerwise, (lit. aslant)." The movement of the elephant as available from R u d r a ṭ a ' s K ā v y ā l a ṃ k ā r a (v. 16) tallies with this. See *Diagram* 5. (For more about the passage in question, see the Introduction). Of the different movements of the elephant this seems to be the latest. (For details see the Introduction).

In the *Divyamālikā* Vyāsa (says as follows) :

> 15. (The different kinds of victories in the game of Caturaṅga :) Siṃhāsana, Catūrājī, Nṛpākṛṣṭa, Ṣaṭpada, Kākakāṣṭha, Bṛhannaukā and Naukākṛṣṭa.

The Siṃhāsana (means) 'entering (the domain of another king, enemy or enemy's ally)'. The Nṛpākṛṣṭa (means) 'assault' (Vakaḍā-vakaḍī), Ṣaṭpada (means) the pawn-promotion (lit. the entrance of the pawn), and the Naukākṛṣṭa (means) 'naval attack' (Nakaḍī).

Yama (says) :

> 16. "The pawn and the boat are to capture pieces when an attack and a counter-attack take place ; but the king, the elephant and the horse are to capture a piece after avoiding an attack."

Because these are superior pieces,

> 17. "One's own pieces are to be protected with utmost care. O king, the superior pieces of the enemy or of his ally should be captured even at the expense of one's minor pieces."

The rule for the movement of the horse does not occur in the ms. of the CD. But the fragment of the work occurring in the Tithitattva preserves it. We have taken it from there. Most probably this existed in the archetype of the ms. The movement of the horse as available here as well as in the CT. is similar to that available for the same piece in the modern chess. The passage is as follows :

ऋजुद्वं कोणकोष्ठाभ्यामभितोऽश्वगतिर्भवेत् (see *Diagram* 8).

15. The Siṃhāsana and the Catūrājī etc. are different results of the game. These will be defined and discussed later on (see 42 f.).

Vakaḍā-vakaḍī seems to be a dialectal word derived from *avakaṭā-vakaṭam* = *avakaṭa* + *avakaṭam* (cf. *parasparam*). As *avakaṭa* means 'opposite', 'contrary' ; the compound word appears to mean 'opposition or assault'. *Nakaḍī* (<**nokaḍī*) is possibly derived from *naukaṭakī*. It seems to mean 'naval attack' (*kaṭaka* = army).

That is, the pieces should be captured. According to some authorities, *atyantaṃ svabalaṃ rakṣet svarājabalamuttamam* shows that the pieces belonging to one's ally-king are to be protected as one's own pieces. That is, if the piece concerned is a superior one it should be shown as much care as one's own pieces will deserve. 'Of the friend' (means 'of one) who is to some extent favourable (*abhimata*)'.

> 18. "Four positions are available for the boat while eight for the horse. When he is in the protection of the elephant the king plays without any fear. Hence, O Yudhiṣṭhira (*Kaunteya*), do thou protect the elephant even at the sacrifice of all other pieces."

Brahman (*Pitāmaha*) too (says) :

> 19. "Then, O Yudhiṣṭhira (*Kaunteya*), protect the elephant carefully from attacks on every side."

In the *Caturaṅga-paddhati* too (we have),

> 20. "Then, O Yudhiṣṭhira, protect the elephant by all means."

Thus the elephant is not unworthy of protection even at the cost of all other pieces.

In the *Mālikā* Vyāsa (says) :

> 21. "Do not, on any account, place the elephant face to face with another elephant (i.e.,

18. The emphasis placed on the protection of the elephant deserves attention. It seems to be natural that this importance of the piece once made it possible for the game to be styled as the 'Elephant-game'. The modern chess as played in Malaya and China are named after the elephant. We may assume that the Caturaṅga (four-handed dice-chess) was the precursor of the modern two handed chess prevalant in those countries. It is by no means necessary that the name should be of Indian origin ; the people of Malaya and China might have invented it independently because of the importance of elephant in the game itself (cf. Murray, pp. 96-97).

of the enemy or of his ally). If one who is conversant with the Dharma (Smṛti or law) will ever do like that, one will incur a sin."

The above dictum requires that one should never place an elephant face to face with another elephant.

Yama (says) :

22. "If any one, O king, puts even by mistake an elephant before another elephant one incurs thereby the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa."

Thus one should not move even by mistake an elephant when no secure position is available for it. That the Mithilā school, inspite of their knowledge of the fact that no *dheḍi* (?) is to be applied even when a piece is captured, move a piece between two (rival) elephants, is to be ascribed to their wrong understanding of the rules of the game (lit. 'vomitting due to their indigestion in the shape of ignorance').

On account of this, Vyāsa (says) :

23. "A seeker of religious merit, O king, should not move, even by mistake, a piece between the two elephants."

From the above dictum it is implied that even when the throw has made a piece between two elephants available for move, the same should not be moved.

24. When a throw has made a horse available for movement and any position is not available for it, then move the pawn before the king and put it in the place of the latter.

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22. The difference of the Mithilā school from that of Bengal deserves notice.

23. This shows that to avail of any throw was not compulsory for the player.

24. This shows that the player could partially utilize a throw e, g., the throw being of 5 + 3 he might, if he liked, avail of only 3 or only 5. The peculiarity of the Mithilā school deserves notice.

According to the above words of Gautama we are to understand that, when after a throw of three and five no room is available for the horse one should then put it in the place of the pawn moved from before the king. But the pawn in the corner should not be moved for (accomodating) the horse ; for this latter pawn is another horse in its place. The Mithilā school, however, considers such a move(?) necessary. The same thing is to be understood in similar other circumstances.

Gautama says :

> 25. "When there two pieces (will be available for move) to a single square and there exists position for only one of them, then the superior piece should be moved. In case of the throw of five and three, the throw of five should always be considered superior to that of three."

(In the *Mālikā*) Vyāsa also says :

> 26. "O Yudhiṣṭhira (*Pārtha*), when the throw of five and three has occurred and there is one position for both the numbers, the piece available for move by the throw of five, should be moved, because the throw of five is superior to the throw of three (lit. should move five because of its superiority)."

From these words it is to be understood that whenever there is any throw of three and five, the throw of five should be used for moving a piece and not the throw of three ; for the former is a superior throw. We should do likewise in similar circumstances. In the *Caturaṅga-paddhati* too the same instructions have been given.

25-26. This probably shows that two pieces of a player might stay in one square.

> 27. "O Yudhiṣṭhira, when the two different pieces, be they superior or inferior, are available for capture in a square, capture one that has weight (i. e., is superior).
>
> 28. This rule is to be applied everywhere in case of elephant, horse, pawn and boat. But in case of the elephant and the king (being available at the same time), O, one may capture whichever one likes."

From this dictum it is implied that when two pieces are available for capture one which is superior of the two should be captured. Between elephant and the horse the former is the superior one, but between the king and the elephant the player may exercise option in capturing. Here there is no Sandhi in *hantavyaṃ gauravaṃ yatra iti pārtha mayeritam*, because that would have spoiled the metre. Sandhi is due to the option of the······ In fact the elephant is to be killed, for it has superiority over other pieces.

> 29. "The elephant, O best of the kings, is superior to other pieces each of which severally is superior to the piece next to it."

(The expression) 'this should be known' completes the sense. '*Ekataḥ*' means taking them one by one (*i. e.*, severally). (From this interpretation we understand that) between the boat and the pawn the former is verily (superior).

In the *Mālikā* (occurs the following) :

> 30. "The intelligent man should everywhere capture or obstruct (some piece). But listen to me, O Yudhiṣṭhira, I am telling you the manner in which one should proceed in these matters.

27-28. Any attack being possible in such a square, one is to kill the superior piece.

30. The verb *bindh* does not occur in any list of roots. It must be a dialectal alternative of the root *bandh* 'to catch', 'to ensnare', 'to capture' etc., and must have the same meaning.

> 31-32. On finding a superior piece one should always obstruct it, if by so obstructing one can break through the obstruction offered by one's enemy for one's ownself or for one's ally. But one should not obstruct (all the) opponents (at a time). Otherwise (lit. in the absence of this) one may obstruct them. Vyāsa has said that one should not deliberately offer any obstruction."

From the above words of Vyāsa it appears that when the forces of one's own and of one's ally have been obstructed and they are to be delivered from this obstruction, then one should make efforts for the break up of the obstruction ; but in that case one should not offer obstruction to all the enemy's forces. But when there is no chance of breaking up the obstruction then one should offer counter-obstruction to all the enemy's forces ; and when one is able to capture any piece of the opponent one should not obstruct it.

An exception to the above rule has been laid down by Bhṛgu thus :

> 33. 'There is no harm in obstructing any piece that can be captured. But there is no need for being friendly to it (afterwards)'.

From the above words of Bhṛgu we have that, when some piece cannot be captured it may be obstructed. This is harmless. The ally's force cannot be obstructed.

> 34. If by the capture of a piece obstruction occurs for the ally then, O Yudhiṣṭhira (lit. son of Pāṇḍu), it is called the Balāghāta.

From the above words we have that when by capturing the

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32. The form *ghātitum* for *hantum* is bad grammar.

33. The form *bendhum* is from the root *bindh.* See notes on 30 above.

enemy's forces, that of one's ally have met obstruction, then it will be called the Balāghāta.

35. 'O the best of the kings, the superior forces should never be placed in a critical position. If they are placed like this one will incur the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa. If, however, one is forced to place them in a critical position, then one should see that some superior piece (of the opponent) is captured by it'.

From the above words of Vyāsa it is to be understood that the superior pieces should never be placed in a position open to danger. The king, the elephant and the horse are superior pieces. When the enemy's king together with his ally, as well as the horse in front of the pawn at the corner is moved, one should capture this horse even if there is a throw of five in favour of the player. The school of Mithilā capture the horse in that case on the strength of the dictum "If, however, they (superior pieces) are to be placed in a critical position then some superior piece of the enemy should be captured." "This, however, is a mistake on the part of the author of the *Caturaṅga-paddhati*" says Gurucaraṇa; for, the quoted dictum lacks authority. They (i. e., the Mithilā school) are not to do whatever pleases them.

36. If the two pieces of the ally of the enemy have simultaneously become available for capture then these two pieces are to be captured at the expense of a pawn ; for the two pieces are superior to the pawn, which is of less value than one (major) piece (*bala*).

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35. *Bendhuḥ*=captor's (base *bendhṛ*). Mithilā's peculiarity should again be noted. G u r u c a r a ṇ a mentioned here seems to be the author of the prose portion of the CD.

36. This shows that sometimes pieces of an ally also could be captured (lit. killed). But there is nothing astonishing in this for the game being one fit for princes thoroughly follows political maxims. For **K ā m a n d a k a** writes :—

From the above instruction of Yama it is to be understood that the two pieces should be captured. The same explanation holds good everywhere.

37. The king, the elephant as well as the horse can capture the enemy's pieces after averting attack. Even if there is any want of position, O the best of the kings, by capturing one gets a piece. As Yama laid down this rule the piece in question should be captured.

From the above words of Yama we are to understand that in spite of one's want of position one should capture a major piece when it is available for capture. The Mithilā school styles this sort of capture as *khāra* or *ṣkumāra*. These are words belonging to the speech of the rural people.

(The same sort of rule has) also (been laid down) in the *Caturaṅga-paddhati*.

38. "O king, the wise have laid down this order of moving the pieces. An intelligent person should move his piece only after the three positions have been surveyed."

"भोगप्राप्तं विकुर्वाणं मित्रमप्युपपीडयेत् ।
अत्यन्तं विकृतं हन्यात् स पापीयान् रिपुर्मतः ॥"
"अहिते वर्त्तमानानि मित्राण्यपि परित्यजेत् ॥"

Nītisāra (Veṅkaṭeśvara ed.) VIII. 72, 73.

[Tr. When the (expected) advantage has been obtained from an ally and he turns faithless, him one ought to punish, and an ally who is very much treacherous should be killed ; for, of the two he is worse.]

[Tr. Even when allies doing harm are more than one (lit. many) they should be shunned.]

36-37. These passages are obscure. It seems that some part of it has been lost. The repetition of the first line of 37 in the ms. gives rise to such a suspicion.

38. 'The three positions' are evidently the possible attacks from three sides,

Similar (should be the procedure) in capturing a piece.

39. "O king, a piece should not be raised quickly in capturing another (piece). Looking to various possible difficulties one should suddenly move a piece.

40. If by mistake, O Yudhiṣṭhira, there is anything amiss, then there will be many difficulties and one will incur a sin."

From the above rule it is to be understood that, when in capturing a piece of the enemy, there is any chance of obstruction for an ally, then it should not be captured. And an ally should not capture any piece of his ally as long as none of his own pieces has been captured. A similar rule applies in both cases. Imputing to it faults such as capture one should put a piece in that very place. Imputing there faults······as three points of attack have been available. Similarly when two pieces have been available, or, when his (ally's) pieces have been obstructed and the obstruction can be removed one should remove it. Similar (should be the treatment) everywhere. If due to carelessness or through anger one should make a mistake, and one cannot find out any difficulty even when difficulties exist then one should incur sin.

(The same rule is) also (available) in the *Caturaṅga-paddhati*.

41. 'If the major pieces are obstructed then there will be a great gain on the part of the enemy. Hence, O king, remove the obstruction (of your pieces) and (before doing that) you should not capture the enemy's piece'.

From these words (it is to be gathered that), as the enemy obstructing the superior force (attain great gain), one should remove obstruction first and should not attempt to kill enemy's pieces before that.

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40. This passage gives rule as to the capture of an ally's piece. While himself unhurt one cannot capture an ally's piece, or must find some fault with the ally before he can capture his piece. See notes on 36 above,

42. "When the king comes to occupy another king's position then, O best of kings, it will be called the *Siṃhāsana*.

43. When the king attains Siṃhāsana after killing (another) king then the defeated party will have to pay the double stake or the stake is onefold (at the option of the victor)."

The double amount means that 'thirty-six (*paṇas*) will be carried.' The Mithilā school understand by this 'seventy-two (*paṇas*).' This is their mistake. The position of the allied king is to be understood in this case. By 'position' in 'another king's position' we are to understand even the position of his ally.

Yama (says):

44. "When, O Yudhiṣṭhira, a king ascends the throne of an allied king, then also the Siṃhāsana (takes place) and the former king commands all the forces of the latter."

According to this passage too thirty-six is the amount of the stake.

42-43. Simhāsana is of two kinds. One of them brings in double stake while the other single stake. The value of stake is fixed by convention which seems to vary according to schools ; for in the Bengal school double stake meant thirty-six paṇas or two rupees and four annas in modern money while in the Mithilā School the same was twice this amount. The Bengali commentator of the CD. here finds fault with the Mithilā School. We can well understand his attitude if we look to the following dicta of Manu.

नाक्षैः क्रीडयेत्...............। IV. 74.
द्यूतं समाह्वयं चैव राजा राष्ट्रान्निवारयेत् ।
... ...
प्रकाशमेतत्तास्कर्यं यद्देवनसमाह्वयौ ।
... ...
द्यूतं समाह्वयं चैव यः कुर्यात् कारयेत वा ।
तान् सर्वान् घातयेद्राजा शूद्रांश्च द्विजलिङ्गिनः ॥ VIII. 221, 223, 224.

The above passages probably make an exception of the ritual game of Caturaṅga or the game itself has been connected with ritual after lawgivers like Manu have taken strong measures to suppress it. (For details on those points see Introduction).

45. "When the enemy king having six positions tries to attain the Siṃhāsana then he should be captured even if he is protected well."

From these words of Vyāsa it is to be understood that when a king tries to enter together with his forces the court of another king, then the former should be captured.

46. When one's own king is free while the three other kings have been captured then there occurs the *Catūrājī*.

From these words it is to be understood that when the three other kings have been captured while one's own king is free there occurs the Catūrājī.

47. When the Catūrājī occurs for one king by his capture of another, then the amount of stake should be doubled, otherwise it is one-fold only.

In this case the double amount means thirty-six *paṇas*.

48. "When, O monarch, the king captures in the Catūrājī another king from his (=the latter's) own position, then the amount of stake will be fourfold".

Now this is the central idea here: that though there can be a victory in both ways, there is some display of superior force and security of position in attaining the other king's throne as well as in capturing him. The analogy is to be followed in the game also. Here the fourfold stake means seventy-two *paṇas*. The Mithilā school too say this.

Gautama (says):

49. "If in the course of the Siṃhāsana the Catūrājī occurs then it will be the Catūrājī and not the Siṃhāsana".

46-48. Catūrājī has three varieties: superior, middle and inferior. The superior variety brings in fourfold stake: middle, double, inferior and single. Hence the superior Catūrājī is the highest form of victory.

The same is to be understood everywhere.

> 50. "If at the time of entrance, the Catūrājī is likely to occur, then accomplish the Catūrājī and you will win the twofold stake".

From these words (it is to be understood) that if the Catūrājī occurs at the time of entering then it will be considered the Catūrājī and not the entrance. The same rule is given in the *Caturaṅga-paddhati*.

> 51. "When the two (other) kings are in your hand by the side of your king and one of them has been captured by the enemy, then the other should be carried by your force".

From the above passage it is to be understood that if the two kings are by the side of your king and one of them has been carried off (captured) by the enemy, then the remaining one should be captured by your force. In fact no open assault (Vakaḍā-vakaḍī) can be effected in this way.

For example, Vyāsa (says) :

> 52. "When a member of the force has stepped out, an expert in the game (of Caturaṅga) should act as follows: the three kings being in the hand and the other (i. e., the fourth) having been captured by the enemy and the open assault (Vakaḍā-vakaḍī) having been declared (by the opponent) the king (of the enemy) should at once be captured."

From the above passage it is to be understood that there being in one's hand the three kings and the remaining king, 'one's own or ally's, having been captured by the enemy and there being the declaration of Vakaḍā-vakaḍī the (enemy) king should at once be captured. This is called the *Nṛpākṛṣṭa*.

53. [When the two kings are in the hand and the other one is not in another's hand then the king should capture a king by his personal attack].

Vyāsa (says) :

54. "When the king is going to attain the Nṛpākṛṣṭa, O Yudhiṣṭhira, then he should be captured at once by an attack, if there is none to protect him."

From the above words it is clear that when an (enemy) is about to attain the Nṛpākṛṣṭa then he should be captured by an immediate attack, for by so doing Nṛpākṛṣṭa can be smashed.

Manu (says) :

55-56. "O best of the kings, when, to one member of the force, be it the elephant or the horse, an obstruction has occurred and that has given rise to Vakaḍā, then admit that Vakaḍā and do not remove that obstruction ; and as long as the king is in obstruction do not attempt the Nṛpākṛṣṭa".

From these words (we are to understand that) if the Vakaḍā arises after the obstruction of the elephant or the horse (and at this time three things are practicable) : the capture of two pieces by one, the removal of the obstruction and the effecting the Vakaḍā then one should effect the Vakaḍā and not the removal of the obstruction ; but when the king has been obstructed that obstruction should be removed ; otherwise the king being captured the Nṛpākṛṣṭa is lost and only sin is incurred.

So (says) Vyāsa :

57. "If the Vakaḍā arises at the time of the Uṭhā—"

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53. The form '*uṭhite*' is probably made up of *uṭhā* and *ita* and as *uṭhā* is equivalent to *utthāna* the word means *utthita* 'arisen'. The sense of the two passages is not quite clear.

55. *Vakaḍā* is possibly a short form of *vakaḍā-vakaḍī* (See 15,51,52,58).

The prohibition in the *Mālikā* is (as follows) :

58. "If one's own king is indeed (*khalu*) captured by an ally when the two other kings (the enemy and his ally) are in hand, it is a useless affair ; even if the Vakaḍā is declared, it cannot be effected".

When the two kings are indeed (*khalu*) in hand and an ally has captured one's own king for repelling an entrance (of the enemy) and has afterwards given it back, then he cannot capture that king (again). For, that would be a useless affair (*mīnamāra*). It is to be understood like this. The word *mīnamāra* is dialectal and ends in *a*.

And in the *Caturaṅgapaddhati*, too,

59. "A pawn when it reaches at the end (of its domain) any square except that of king and the one at the corner, then it carries the weight of a piece originally occupying that square, and the Ṣaṭpada (occurs)".

This has the name of the Ṣaṭpada. *Koṣṭhabala* means a piece (*bala*) in a square (*koṣṭha*).

Yama prohibits this, thus :

60. "A pawn when it is not in its proper *pātra* (position ?) should not be captured. If, however, it will be in its *pātra* then, O king, an intelligent person should carefully capture it.

61. But if there be any (chance of) attack from the enemy then the pawn should not be allowed to enter. [According to Gautama it······ ·········] should be known as having lost its life".

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58. The word *mīna-māra* means (literally) 'the killing of fish'. Now for a Brahmin killing fish is a useless affair ; for in ancient times he could not eat it without endangering his social position. Compare with this the word *jhakhmārī* (=Skt. *jhaṣa-mārī*) also meaning an useless venture.

From these words we are to understand that a pawn not within its *pātra* does not deserve to enter one's court. But when it is with its *pātra* then it should be made to lose its life by one stroke.

As an exception (to this) Gautama says :

> 62. "O king, there would occur no Ṣaṭpada for the pawn, if by the king or the elephant the same (Ṣaṭpada) has been obstructed.

Yama (says) :

> 63. "If there is a pawn in the seventh square due to ten, then (the pawn which is already in that square and the one which is going to capture it) will strike each other (and of the two stronger one) killing easily the weaker one."

From the above words it is to be understood that the pawn which on account of a throw of ten is liable to occupy the seventh square cannot enter (the enemy's place). In case of entrance there is a mutual clash.

> 64. "O Yudhiṣṭhira, according to Gautama, one playing only with three pawns can never attain the Ṣaṭpada".

An exception to this has been made by Ṛṣyaśṛṅga.

> 65. If in playing the Caturaṅga one has been reduced to the position of having only a boat and a pawn, then that pawn is called the Gāḍhāvaṭī. [The position of the king and the corner square can be assailed by this Gāḍhā].

By 'positions such as the king's and the corner position' it is to be understood that the pawn before the king's square and at the corner square, is fit to enter.

66. "When, O king, he attains both the Ṣaṭpada and the Catūrāji, the Catūrāji will have to stand and not the Ṣaṭpada".

The same thing occurs in the *Caturaṅgapaddhati.*

Vyāsa (says) :

67. "When a player has no piece in hand or in the field then there will occur the Kākakāṣṭha. The Rākṣasas say that there is no victory or defeat to be decided for him (who has attained the Kākakāṣṭha)."

On attaining the Kākakāṣṭha one should make himself purified by bathing.

Agastya (says) :

67a. "O king, if the Kākakāṣṭha will occur then one will have to bathe."

For the loss of the family or clan one should be censured and hence this bathing has been prescribed. Three baths are necessary, for they only are fit to take away the sin. This has also been said by Vyāsa in the *Bhārata.*

68. "O Yudhiṣṭhira, when the Kākakāṣṭha arises at the time of the Siṃhāsana then the latter should be reckoned and not the former."

From the above words of Agastya it is to be understood that if at the time of the Entrance there should arise the Kākakāṣṭha then the Siṃhāsana(?) should be reckoned and not the Kākakāṣṭha. The same (rule occurs) in the *Caturaṅgapaddhati* also.

69. "When one's own boat has brought together the four boats including itself in the four positions above one's sitting place then it will be called the Bṛhannaukā."

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67. We do not know how Rākṣasas appear here. The traditional story that Rāvaṇa's wife was the inventor of the chess has probably something to do with this introduction of Rākṣasas.

From the above words of Vyāsa we are to understand that a player, by whose boat the Bṛhannaukā is effected, will possess the four boats, but this is not so.

> 70. "The four boats will be his by whom they will be carried per force near his own position. This has been the tradition."

From these traditional (*śruteḥ*) words we are to understand that one who can carry (the boats) per force will possess the boat. But this is not a hard and fast rule but depends on the option of the player.

> 71. "When the three boats are in hand and the enemy has taken the remaining one, then the Naukākṛṣṭa is said to occur. In this case one should take this boat per force".

And Yama too (says) :

> 72. "When the two boats of one's own are in hand and in the field then the (boat) harmed by the enemy as well as the Nakaḍī should be brought over by him(?)".

Here too a fruitless venture (*mīra[na]māra*) is noticed. The same is the rule in the *Caturaṅga-paddhati*.

Pitāmaha (Brahmā) says :

> 73. "O the great king, two strokes can proceed from one piece. ....one's own piece is called the Aghalaghāta(?)."

Yama, too, says :

> 74. "When two pieces are obstructed by one piece then it is called the Aghalaghāta. In such a case one should play after proper deliberation".

'These words of Agastya are to be considered by the wise'. From this dictum we learn that when one's opponent captures one's two pieces by means of one piece, then the situation is called the

Aghalaghāta. The wise are to think out what they should play in this case. The Mithilā school too do likewise.

In the *Mālikā* (occurs the following) :

> 75. When an (enemy) king is bent on making an entrance (to one's court then) the wise should obstruct him and in case of his entrance he should be captured carefully in all cases (*sarvataḥ*).

In the above rule of Vyāsa by *sarvataḥ* (in all cases) we are to understand that even by the forces of the ally he should be captured.

According to the (current) usage, the pieces of the ally of the king, when entered (one's court), should be moved by his enemy and the die will also be cast by him.

Vyāsa (says) :

> 76. O the virtuous Yudhiṣṭhira, the forces of the ally of the enemy who has entered (one's court) should not be captured but he should be made to divert. If any fool will capture them then his association should be avoided.

From these words we are to understand that when the enemy king has entered (one's court) his allied force should not be captured. One should move the enemy's forces as one's own ; but if the latter's forces are for capturing (one's own forces) then that should be avoided. This is to be understood (as a rule) at the time of the Caturāji. There should be *aśauca* (state of impurity) when the Siṃhāsana and the Caturāji have been disturbed.

Mahāmanu (says) :

> 77. When the king has moved to the fifth place and the pawn has been captured in the Ṣaṭpada, then, O king, there will be a state of impurity (*aśauca*) if the piece concerned was moved under compulsion. Hence after the two-fold movement the victorious party should capture the enemy's forces.

Protthite rājñi means 'when the king has entered (one's court).'

> 78. Entering the fifth place too is called the Siṃhāsana by the wise. The four kings at one's own place is called the Catūrājī.

These should be understood from the words of Yājñavalkya.

> 79. Listen to me, O the great king, the results which will come out from the entrance or the capture of the king. One will be in a state of impurity (*aśauca*) as long as one will not move one's pieces.

If at the time of attempting entrance it is disturbed then he will be in a state of impurity (*aśauca*). But when one of the pieces has been moved then there will be an end of the impurity (*aśauca*). In the *Yāmala* occurs the following :

> 80. The king who is willing to enter, should enter (the enemy's court) ; he should not run away *when obstructed. These are the words of Garga.*

In the *Mahābhārata* occurs this prose (passage) : The king willing to enter should enter (the enemy's court) and he should not run away. Should he run away there would be a sin due to the disturbance of the entrance. The Mithilā school would run away in such a case ; but this is their error. The same rule occurs in the *Caturaṅga-paddhati*, as well.

> 81. When the Siṃhāsana and the Catūrājī occur in one's own place then the king should be protected even at the cost of the elephant.

The particle *vā* in the above (original) rule denotes prescription.

From the above words of Vyāsa it follows that at the time of the Siṃhāsana and the Catūrājī the king should be protected at the risk of all the forces including the elephant, even.

In the *Caturaṅga-paddhati* it has been laid down that the two kings should be protected ; but 'this is a mistake of Miśra,

says Gurucaraṇa. In fact, according to that policy, the person who is going to attain the Catūrāji should see to the protection of his king. For, otherwise, should he move the king from his own place after an attack, he would incur a sin.

The grandfather Manu says :

> 82. O the best of the kings, at the time of the Siṃhāsana, the Catūrāji and the Kākakāṣṭha the forces, even when they attack (him), should not be killed by the king.

The word *rājñaḥ na hantavyam* in the original means by the king are not to be captured. Or that they say that 'the king should be protected at the sacrifice of all the forces even of the elephant' means that in their opinion the enemy king should be saved even at the expense of the three elephants. (It is) not so. By capturing him the expected Caturāji of one's king is disturbed and a great fault occurs.

In the *Bhārata* occurs the following :

> 83. In case of an attack, O best of the kings, one should not move the king. The wretch who will do this will lay down·········for him. This is true, true and again true. This is the word of Vyāla (Vyāsa ?)

This is due to a great fault for the disturbance of the Siṃhāsana and the Catūrāji. The same rule occurs in the *Caturaṅga-paddhati.*

The same has been the dictum of Vyāsa :

> 84. If, O Yudhiṣṭhira, the obstruction of the king and the elephant can be broken through by a piece then the wise person should remove the obstruction of the elephant.

When the king and the elephant have been obstructed and only one piece at a time can be made free from this obstruction then the elephant should first of all be made free. This prescription

in favour of the elephant is due to its being a major piece. The Mithilā School do not act like this. This, Gurucarana says, is a defective procedure, when the obstruction has been removed (?).

85. Whenever there is any want of position,
O Yudhiṣṭhira, one should then put one elephant
against another.

Moreover,

86. If at the time of the entrance there
should occur an obstruction then one should apply
the Dheḍi (?). This has been laid down by
Gautama.

If at the time of entrance the king of a person and his two elephants are obstructed then he should apply the Dhedi for the disturbance of the entrance. These are the words of Gautama. This view is not approved by Vyāsa and others and not by us nor by the Mithilā School and in the *Caturaṅga-paddhati* of Miśra. Hence it should be considered a speciality of that muni (Gautama). The same is the rule at the time of the Catūrāji according to Gurucaraṇa. In fact, there are two views. As regards the game the players follow whatever pleases them.

Jābāla too (says) :

87. Never, O Yudhiṣṭhira, should the
elephant be placed against another elephant but at
the time of the entrance and the Catūrāji this rule
may not be observed.

The exception provided for in the case of the entrance is meant for the disturbance of the Catūrāji by the rival player.

88. One should capture a piece of the
enemy whenever one gets an opportunity. But
when two pieces are available for capture one
should capture one at the left.

The same rule has been laid down in the *Caturaṅga-paddhati.*

89. On capturing a king of the rival near
one's own king wise men should bring about
the Vakaḍā by capturing his allied king.

This is to be understood from the words of Yā(Jā)bāla.

Yama (says) :

> 90. After capturing a king, be he an enemy or an ally, one should not capture, if the Nṛpākṛṣṭa is expected, an (enemy) king even when he is open to capture.

This is the instruction of Vyāsa when one's own king is near it.

From the above words we are to understand if one of the enemy kings has been captured and one's own king is near at hand, then for the sake of the Nṛpākṛṣṭa that may occur, one should not capture, even when the capture is possible, the king of the enemy or the ally. Miśra too supports this view.

Yājñavalkya says :

> 91. When the uṭhā (?) has occurred for the break up of the Nṛpākṛṣṭa then the wise men should break it up. O Yudhiṣṭhira, this time one should not effect the uṭhā.

From these words, it is meant that when once for the break up of the Nṛpākṛṣṭa, has occurred the uṭhā, at that time the break up of the Nṛpākṛṣṭa should be effected. In the *Caturaṅga-paddhati*, too, 'that from which it is carried(?)'. Miśra too says like this.

> 92. If at the time of the obstruction of major pieces some piece of the enemy is available, then one must remove the obstruction even at the cost of a piece but should not try to capture the enemy's piece.

In the above dictum of Vyāsa the words 'of major pieces' has a (special) implication. (They imply that) the obstruction of the king or the elephant is to be removed and no piece of the enemy should be captured. This should be done at the time of the entrance and after the Catūrāji.

> 93. O king, one should not play till then and one should not cast till after the uṭhā has occurred but when many have been obtained, one should make the uṭhā but should not (any more) cast a throw.

From the above words, it is to be understood that one should effect the uṭhā and not go on playing. This should be the players' conduct at the time of the entrance and the Catūrāji. It is to be known that there is no such rule in other occasions.

Jābāla (says) :

> 94. When the uṭhā becomes due, then one should begin the second throw. After moving one piece to another place one should capture that piece by one. After making the uṭhā one should play for another throw.

> 95. Then one should know this to be the Thoka. The persons knowing the Śāstra know the game to be like this.

(In place of the reading 'knew'—*viduḥ*) there is a variant like 'say' (*jaguḥ*).

> 96. When the Thoka throw has fallen (for the enemy) then, O king, one should offer one's pieces to him. Similar should be the procedure, O Yudhiṣṭhira, even when uṭhā has not been uttered.

From these words of Vyāsa we are to understand that when one throw has been spoilt and two throws have been available next, one throw should be utilised by moving one piece to some place and then should do the uṭhā. First he should make the uṭhā and should play the other throw. Then it will be the Thoka and the piece should be given him.

Yama, however, says : If the uṭhā has not been uttered when the same has taken place it will be the Thoka. Miśra too agrees with him.

> 97. If two pieces of the uṭhā are to fall in two throws, then they should be captured by every effort and the uṭhā will be accomplished by the rest.······

From these we are to understand as follows : As there being an *aśauca* upon a previous *aśauca* and the latter not being heavy one stands purified from it, in a similar manner if any major piece exists already then the uṭhā is to be accomplished by the same piece.

But Vyāsa says in the *Mālikā* that when the king has entered the Gadya (?) and an uṭhā piece exists in the square of the entrance then that piece should not be captured. But should there be any other piece there then that should be killed. By 'another piece' we mean the piece of the uṭhā.

Yama (says) :

> 98. If in the square of the Siṃhāsana there is a piece of the uṭhā then on capturing it one should not make the entrance.

From this it is to be understood that the same piece should not be captured.

> 99. Should there be any other piece, that should be captured.

This is implied :

> 100. An expert should play more than ten *daṇḍas* (=four hours). O king, he should make a throw of dice which is called a *dāna*.

Then uttering, victory to Raghunātha, victory to Balarāma, one should say ten-two, five, four-five . . . . three, five-three, etc., words denoting these numbers in the text are dialectal.

> 131. After the break up of the game, O king, one should count up these pieces.

Leaving aside his own pieces he should reckon his victory.

From these words it is to be understood that one should make a reckoning of the victory after leaving one's own pieces out of calculation.

One should mark the dice with five, four, [three] two etc. For the understanding of the dullards I make it clear. Hence, one should not laugh at me, for this seemingly superfluous description. If in this game there will arise any confusion over rules of the game then wise people should look thoroughly over the matter and give a decision. A decision should be given by the wise after criticising the rules made by *munis*. The same instruction has been giving by Vyāsa too in the *Caturaṅga-paddhati*.

102. He who plays this game daily in this manner, O king, to him, fear from enemy does not occur.

103. Those persons who praise this game attain the merit of *ayuta* horse-sacrifices.

104. Formerly it was played by Indra who attained great fame. Thereafter, O son of Kuntī, the wise people play it.

105. That foolish person who plays this game not according to rules coming from the mouth of Vyāsa shall have disease, want money and grain, and meet with difficulty, death and imprisonment.

From these words, it is clear that any one, who plays the game otherwise and does not realize the folly, will suffer like this.

106. O the great king, through the merit obtained from this, Dadhīci obtained victory. Hence, you play the same and make fortune awaiting your sons and grandsons.

'From this' means 'from this game.'

107. Those persons, who play this game, O Yudhiṣṭhira, will have in their house an allround prosperity.

Index to the Text

N. B.—Numerals relate to numbers of sections of the Skt. text. Words marked with asterisks do not occur in any Skt. Dictionary or if they occur at all, their technical sense is not available there. Lexicographers are also to give more attention to the rest of the words which have developed a special sense in connexion with C.

a. Important Words

b. Proper Names

General Index